

The British Review
And
London Critical Journal
vol. - 2
December 1811

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FOLLOWING WORKS

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW

AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.



DECEMBER, 1811.

ART. X. *De l'Influence des Femmes sur la Littérature Française, comme Protectrices des Lettres et comme Auteurs; ou Précis de l'Histoire des Femmes Françaises les plus célèbres.* Par Madame de Genlis. Paris, 1811, and Colburn, London.

To stumble at the threshold has been considered an unlucky omen; we are, therefore, sorry to find any thing to blame in the title-page of a book. If a title to a literary work be wholly without utility or purpose, it would be better in all cases to omit it. But if there be a purpose intended by it, and that purpose be to make known the general design or subject of the work, unless the work is truly without scope or plan, we may reasonably expect to learn what it is from the title. Of the two parts of the title of the work before us, the first is descriptive of a specific topic of illustration, while the second confesses that if the purpose of the author be really not that which the first announces, it is at least her sincere intention to write a great deal on the subject of celebrated French females, learned, and unlearned.

The "réflexions préliminaires" contain some observations not unworthy of being studied and remembered; but the argument on the comparative strength of male and female capacities for literature and science, which was never edifying, useful, or liberal, is now by repetition become vapid and wearisome in the greatest degree.

Madame de Genlis has chosen to embark in this controversy, and she has adopted the childish mode in which the same is usually conducted, that is, by running a parallel between the celebrated individuals of the different sexes through an indefinite compass of history. By a sorted comparison made in this man-

ner, the male might easily be shewn to be the fairer and the female the robuster sex. Out of the millions which have come into the world, arrived at maturity, and departed, or that at present exist in it, the largest possible enumeration of particular instances can bear no proportion to the whole, so as to afford an average on which to ground a comparison of the sexes. No assignable number thus individually collected on either side, could afford a measure so large as not to be capable of being embraced within the scope of an exception to any general predication respecting the human condition, and therefore of course no possible extent of such an enumeration could be wide enough to establish a general rule. The thing is incapable of proof, and wants no illustration.

We shall not suffer ourselves to be drawn into this barren disputation; but we cannot refrain from remarking by the way, that whatever perversity or error in the arrangements of life, accident may be supposed to have produced, whatever usurpations upon the equal rights of the fair sex are imputable to the subtlety or force of ours, time, one would imagine, that usually develops dormant claims, and necessity that for the most part vindicates the appointments of the Creator, would long ago have brought things to their proper level; for nature and truth are not to be prescribed against. But still this unjust ascendancy continues; still the exigencies of life and the distribution of duties put the yoke of mediocrity upon feminine ambition, in all the severer exercises of mind and body, and give free scope only to those virtues and attainments which sweeten domestic intercourse, instruct the rising generation, promote the charities of the heart, and adorn the christian profession. Unluckily, too, the scripture does in more places than one afford a colour of authority to this artificial arrangement; and seems to suggest a path of duty to females, which, though important beyond all price to the happiness and improvement of the world, does not conduct to intellectual grandeur, or flatter with the hope of literary immortality.

Under these circumstances it seems to us much more rational and useful to inquire what cultivation of the female mind best fits it for the discharge of the duties which the state of society allots to it, than what are its possibilities of attainment under a culture which has abstractedly in view its intellectual advancement alone.

We presume therefore to think, that the education of females should be conducted so as to qualify them to fill with honour their proper places in society, rather than to excite the ardours of eccentric ambition. We would not have it thought, however,

... that the British Reviewers are less favourable than their literary competitors to the advancement of the female mind. When we come to explain ourselves upon the subject, it will be seen that the cultivation considered by us as appropriate to our English ladies, though somewhat subtracting from the importance usually attached to some parts of their education, would put the capacities of females under a severer requisition than can be satisfied by the ordinary methods now taken to accomplish them.

If politics, metaphysics, mathematics, and the languages of Greece and Rome, are not among those objects of study which we consider as essential to female education, we are not therefore to be supposed to regard women as a secondary sort of beings, and worthy only of being taught those things which administer to the pleasure or service of man. But we presume to think, that there are many duties, the effectual performance of which requires strength of fibre to be added to intellectual ability, and which are therefore eminently suited to the powers of man. There are also duties of equal importance, the proper discharge of which demands an union of tenderness with forbearance, of perseverance with softness, and for these the structure of woman is best adapted. Society requires both parts to be performed; nature divides them between the sexes; life is too short for each to perform both; and the distance between them is increased as perfection is approached in either. That choice of study is doubtless the most wise which is most in the line of our duty: for accomplishments are not of absolute but relative estimation.* All women, it is true, are not equally charged with the softer duties and cares of life: all are not born to become wives and mothers: still it will not be denied that such is the hopeful destination of the sex in general: and we are treating of generals—of the rule and not of the exceptions. Nor are we afraid to say, notwithstanding the ridicule with which the sentiment has of late been attacked*, that where women have no families of their own to attend to, the duty of taking upon themselves a portion of the cares with which others of their sex are overburthened, of solacing the sick, and instructing the forsaken, multiplies its claims in proportion to their leisure. Neither is this all. Propriety of character, consistency of deportment, the value of attainments, and the suitableness of occupations, are determined by reference not to the accidental situation of particular individuals, but to the moral destination of the sex in general.

All men are not designed for the profession of arms, but be-

* See Edinb. Review, No. 30. P. 306.

cause soldiers are always men, and cases may be easily imagined in which courage and personal exposure may become the duties of all men, the quality of bravery belongs generally to the male character. All women are not destined to act the part of mothers, but because only women *can* be such, tenderness for infancy, and a commiserating disposition of the heart, are associated with the character of women in general.

Though deeply impressed with these sentiments, we are still as anxious as Madame de Genlis herself for the culture of the female mind. Those who are charged with the earliest care of their species, whose high and delicate trust it is, to give the first bias to the heart, and first to stir the reasoning faculty, while both are to be insensibly engaged on the side of virtue, to act their parts well, should themselves be proficient in reason and virtue, and have learned, by engrafting reflection on reading, to anticipate in others the prejudices and difficulties which hinder the first steps of intellectual advancement.

To some persons this province of literature appears very contemptible, and particularly when under the management of those, who, in the old-fashioned stile of discipline, endeavour to lay the foundation of education in religion, and to give to God the first fruits of his gift of reason. To some men goodness is weakness, piety is parade, and devotion hypocrisy; and nothing is so ridiculous as a spectacled old lady teaching to the young the maxims of household morality according to the catechism of our church. Generous guardians of the rights of infants! with what happy auspices does your revolutionary career in the national education commence! Perish primers and horn-books, and all the lumber of the nursery! Behold a rising generation of unbreeched philosophers, and lisping free-thinkers; a golden period approaches in which every man is to be qualified to be his own instructor, and in which the religion of the poor is to become the fruit of their own meditations, the result of their own discriminating choice, unincumbered by creeds and vulgar catechisms. Liberal and manly times! when the nation's children are confided to those who dissent from its church, under the patronage of princes, nobles, statesmen, ecclesiastics, writers, and reviewers.

Do we dare, amidst these new lights, to avow our veneration for the memory of the "feeble old lady*" of Brentford, whom the champions of the liberal plan of modern education for the poor, have classed with the writers of horn-books and nursery legends? Yet such is our infatuation, that when we think upon the labours of that good woman, who was most emphatically de-

* See Edinb. Review, No. 17, Art. 12.

parting in peace, while her manly assailants were pursuing her to the grave, we are disposed to consider her utility to mankind as infinitely outweighing the whole aggregation of female worth collected in this French volume before us; and we found our admiration of her singly upon her wise and orthodox industry in disseminating religious knowledge among the poor, and her watchful jealousy of latitudinarian systems.

In a word, we are of opinion that such a cultivation of the female mind as has a tendency to dispose and qualify it for the care of the young, the friendless, and the forsaken, comprises objects and attainments of as much ornament as utility. In the due preparation for such a career of usefulness, the manners are polished in proportion as the heart is enlarged. Nor is this beneficent range of activity inconsistent with every reasonable attention to exterior accomplishments, in the ordinary sense of the term. Religious sobriety, concern for the interests of the soul, and feeling for human indigence, while they superadd a grace invincible to common accomplishments, correct the extravagant appreciation of them which gives to them so undue a hold upon the heart, and so exorbitant a claim upon the time of reasonable beings. But we are very far from denying that the diligent reading of our best authors, the talent of graceful, and in a good cause, of forcible writing, and the exercise of the understanding on subjects of practical theology and preceptive truths, are strictly within the compass of female pretensions. If objects and employments like these should steal something from the laborious impertinence of fashionable life, we should be glad to be accomplices in the theft. In such a crime we will to the utmost, in our character of reviewers, act the part of aiders and abettors, whatever hue and cry may be raised against us by that numerous party in the country, who, as patrons or writers, with a liberalizing and levelling rage, are for demolishing the prescriptive barriers of national religion, and all thorough-bred English morality.

From contemplating the sickly cast of female literature, principles, and manners, which this volume of petticoated French worthies presents to us, it is impossible not to turn for refreshment to the estimable character of a genuine English lady, literate without pedantry, elegant without affectation, dignified without constraint, cheerful at home and circumspect abroad, gentle, humane, devout. We should greatly prefer the domestic circle of such a person, to what are called the "good societies" of Paris. A Mrs. Elizabeth Carter is more to our taste than a Madame du Deffand, a Miss Talbot than a Mademoiselle de L'Espinasse, and a Mrs. Hannah More than even a Madame de

Genlis. We are aware that we shall have all the esprits forts of our own country on the French side of the comparison. It matters not; we are partly at war with these gentlemen; and though some of them in their contemptuous idiom may rank the English authoress last-mentioned among "feeble old ladies," we must venture to declare ourselves her grateful admirers. Admire her we must, because with more than female courage, but with every feminine grace, she has devoted that zeal, which neither her own infirmities, nor the malice of her defamers, can subdue, to the best interests of humanity:—because her life has been a scene of such virtuous exertion as to unite the indolent, the envious, and the profligate in a confederacy against her fame and honour:—in a word, because she has contrived by her thorough acquaintance with the heart, and its accessible points, by her felicity of expression, her originality of thought, and above all, by her versatility of talent, to render the subject of highest concern to man so entertaining and attractive, as to beat in the race of popularity all the prurient productions of this novel-writing age, all the sentimental rubbish of the German press, and all the varnished tales of suicide and adultery. We repeat that, after dwelling on the disgusting scenes of Parisian impertinence, the coteries of dissipated old countesses, French flattery, French perfidy, and French intrigue; the folly and vice, in short, which compose the principal features even of some of the characters selected by Madame de Genlis for our admiration; it is to us a grateful relief to contemplate the social retirement and literate ease of this accomplished woman, and that assemblage of moral worth which she collects about her, and to which she is the proper centre of attraction.

After thus expressing our admiration of the British females mentioned above, and particularly of her who has appeared to us to merit the largest share of our feeble praise, it will be mistaking us greatly to suppose us unwilling to allow any accomplishment of their minds beyond what is necessary to good housewifery. It has been observed, that a few pounds spent in needlework would give to the female part of a family leisure to acquire a fund of real knowledge*. But this appears to us to be a very erroneous and silly view of the question; which is not whether a gain is acquired answerable to the time consumed in these accomplishments, but whether the entire substitution of intellectual industry for those manual and subordinate occupations, would not give a new direction to the female character, and superinduce upon it by degrees a new order of senti-

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 30. Art. 3.

ments and habits, ill suited to those relations which they are destined to fill in the great providential plan of social existence. The character of human beings, if not always determined, is always influenced by the nature of their employments. This truth has been well understood by those who have drawn the best portraiture of female perfection. The domestic companions of Hector and Ulysses were no ordinary specimens of the sex. In the interior of their apartments, surrounded by their maidens, they blazoned in embroidery the trophies of their husbands, and shortened the suspense of their return by amusements which endeared them to their recollections.

Our readers must by this time perceive, or we have taken very fruitless pains to mark our meaning distinctly, that it is not the literature of the sex, but a violence in the devotion to it, which we disapprove. Needlework, and housewifery in general, are to some a necessary part of the science of economy; but in another view, though a collateral one, they seem to be a highly important part of female education. They provide for those mischances of life from which few, if any, are exempt; they balance against the romantic tendency of the female mind, by recalling it to the real necessities of the human condition; they give the thoughts a turn towards usefulness, cleanliness, and convenience; and there is something of value too, in a cast of occupations, (if the remark may be forgiven,) which by rendering a lady independent of the tongue for amusement, disposes her to cherish those intervals of quiescent happiness which are not unprofitably employed in silence and attention.

These are a few of those reasons by which we are induced to think that the addiction of females to literature and science may be of too strenuous a cast. We not only think so because it renders them less useful, but because it renders them less pleasing. But then it is asked, why should any degree of addiction to letters produce more pedantry in women than in men? And why should pedantry, granting it to be the consequence of this addiction, be more offensive in the one sex than in the other? To questions like these experience and feeling afford the best answer. There are some palpable truths which dogmatism may discountenance, arrogance affright, and sophistry pervert; but which are nevertheless recognized in the heart, and established in the constitution of nature. It may be asked, why should softness be considered as the attribute of the sex? Why should gentleness, timidity, and modesty impart such grace and attractiveness to female manners? The best answer is the practical one. It is because we are formed to admire and love these qualities in woman; because, with the advancement of true

civilization and refinement, these female qualities advance in price; and because a state of competition and emulation is not a state of love and reciprocal tenderness. In the dependence of the one upon the protection of the other consists the real bond of union between the sexes. Inequality produces reciprocity; and on this is founded the moral relation between man and woman. The pursuits of the sex must, therefore, be different: not so different as to destroy by diversity of taste, but so different as to supply by variety of materials, the intellectual commerce of the sexes. Fortitude that ennobles the male, and softness that adorns the female, may be mixed in secondary degrees with their opposites in each. As a foundation for mutual esteem, each ought to feel enough of either quality to know its value in the other. Man's true elevation is placed in the severer studies, while the softer dignity of woman, inferior in the intellectual scale, advances by a different course to the same on a superior height in moral goodness. Some acquaintance with these severer studies is necessary to raise in the other sex the esteem of them in ours; and on the other hand, the man of learning, and courage, and virtue, who has no value for the mellow perfections and cultivated taste of a sensible, reading, and thinking woman, is finished only on one side of the manly character.

But if these perfections are inverted; if a woman places her chief merit in literary excellence, she deranges the plan of nature, and disturbs its harmony. But nature is revenged. When this is the case, adieu to feminine attraction! and to many of the charities of mother, sister, daughter, friend. For the deportment of woman, soft, attractive, frank, ingenuous, are substituted the stare of unconcern, the look of defiance, the vivacity of the disputant, and the parade of the scholar. These are among the numerous blots which efface in the female pedant the lovely traces of woman.

Upon the whole, we do not think a little learning is always a dangerous thing in a lady, so long as it has reference to her condition of life and the sphere of her duties. In man, from whom much is expected, his little learning is rarely confessed to be little. It enables him to feel and envy the superiority of others, between whom and himself there is a natural competition. He swells out his little, therefore, beyond its natural compass, the better to cover his ignorance. Having not enough for the illustration of truth, he finds it tell most in opposition to it, and is in danger of being seduced by his vanity into wilful error. But moderation even in things good in themselves is commendable in a woman. The learning that best becomes her is that which she can best manage, and which best consists with a

natural manner and useful understanding. If a lady can interpret the following passage from Juvenal, she will do well to attend to the valuable hint it conveys

“Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.
Non habeat matrona tibi quæ juncta recumbit
Dicendi genus aut curtum sermone rotato
Torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes,
Sed quædam ex libris et non intelligat.”

A great laugh is endeavoured to be raised at what are called simple pleasures. We have in the present day some laughing philosophers: not of that ancient sort indeed whose ridicule was excited by the follies of their fellow creatures. Innocence, chastity, and religion are among the topics of modern pleasantries; especially with our men of strong thinking. For our parts, we are not disposed to join in this laugh; because notwithstanding this well-intended raillery, we cannot help thinking that there does exist a class of simple pleasures, in which it is not merely safe for a woman to indulge, but which not to love or to be capable of loving, argues some original defect in the heart and in the understanding. But let us not be understood to mean by simple pleasures, the entertainments of cup and ball, or bandalore. Neither do we confine the idea to the picking up of plants, the collecting of shells, the instruction of parrots, the fabrication of pin-cushions, and the pasting of charades upon firescreens. But to contemplate the Creator's works, to study them, to imitate them, to fill the eye and the imagination with them, to cling to the sentiments they inspire, and to pursue them to their ultimate grand conclusions; to ride, to walk, to meditate, to luxuriate in the cheerful influence of fine weather; to train vegetation, to plant and improve the garden, to mitigate the moral and physical evils that press around one, by reconciling, relieving, and instructing; are all, when modified by virtuous education, enjoyments of simple relish and home-bred felicity; all capable of flourishing in innocence and retirement, with little aid from artificial culture. These may properly be ranked among simple pleasures, because they want no machinery to set them up. They have at first hand, that is, at nature's, their subjects and incitements; they are the companions of virtuous leisure and unsophisticated habits.

But to qualify for these cheap and innocent pleasures there must be a proper preparatory education; a first impulse must be given to the sensibilities, which may set them forward in a right direction. Before the works of the Deity can be made to interest and delight, the fear and love of his power and goodness

must be established in our minds upon other grounds than the fluctuating foundations of taste. No education can be profitable without the sanction of religion. It should, however, be presented to the mind, not as a task, but as a recreation; which it is well fitted to become when judiciously inculcated. It affords a natural entertainment to the sprightly curiosities of children, an excellent exercise to their opening faculties, and a sufficient incitement to all the good propensities of the young mind. It is the Sun in the system of education; the dispenser of light and heat to the whole, and by its attractive power it maintains every part in its proper place and destination. From leaving it out of the system, or from giving it only a secondary place, results that complexity, disproportion, and disorder, which have found their way into almost every scheme and treatise of education, and to this cause is to be ascribed the multiplication of these treatises in such a fatiguing succession of vapid productions. Were religion properly attended to in female education, young women might be trusted with more learning and more accomplishments, without danger to the equilibrium of their minds, and the modesty of their manners. Without religion intellectual education is mutilated; but moral education is reduced to a solecism. The fitness of morals and the beauty of virtue are frigid arguments to young understandings. They require the support of unnatural expedients and forced measures. But the principle of pious obedience is taught to children by their wants, and confirmed by the unceasing consciousness of dependence. They must of necessity feel it towards their fathers and mothers; and it is easy for them to carry it upwards to the universal Parent and Protector.

For the sake, therefore, of these simple pleasures, of which we think not the less highly because coxcombs deride them, we recommend it to those to whose care the rising generation of females is entrusted, to make this emphatic use of religion in their institutions. Besides its own complete perfection and solitary pre-eminence, transcending all comparative value, it is of admirable use as an auxiliary in the formation of the character and manners. Its rules are short, simple, and practicable, and will enable teachers, if tolerably instructed themselves, to do very well without those problematical expedients and refined methods of culture with which officious speculation is for ever tormenting them. But we are anxious before we dismiss this part of our subject to remind our readers, that when we make mention of religion in the *British Review*, which we may find frequent occasions for doing, we would be understood to mean the religion of the scriptures, embracing the peculiar doctrines of

Christianity as they are professed by the church of England, and not a religion of man's manufacture, adapted to his convenience here, and secularised to his worldly feelings and tastes. Next to the diffusion of a stupid prejudice against this view of religion, by giving it the appellation of methodism, the envy of human happiness could contrive no better instrument for the destruction of religion altogether, than the fatal adoption of a national education without the national religion for its basis.

We have said thus much upon the importance of religion in education, because we perceive with concern that the philosophic pride of the age is making strenuous efforts to discredit its efficacy; and that some of our female writers, and one in particular, for whose genius and talents we entertain the highest respect, and whose influence on education, whether we regard her incomparable skill in the composition of instructive tales without the hackneyed theme of love, or her accurate knowledge of the ways by which the understanding is to be assisted in the acquisition of knowledge, cannot be viewed without great approbation, mixed with anxiety, have bestowed an exclusive attention on what they call moral and intellectual culture, leaving religion, like a wild flower, to its own spontaneous growth from seeds, scattered as chance may have directed, on good ground, or on stony places. With respect to accomplishments, commonly so called, we hold the same opinions with some of our more philosophical contemporaries. It is not to be denied, that they engross much too large a portion of education for acquirements which are in season only for so small a portion of existence, and that while they last they are greatly inferior in dignity and utility to studies which spread their lustre over the whole of life, and which, instead of affording occasions of ostentatious exhibition, short intervals of triumph, and momentary displays, enter into the constitution of the mind, and nourish the understanding; render solitude reflective, and society exhilarating. But inferior as they are, and short-lived in their importance, it would be better, in our opinion, to give to them entire all the docile part of life, without interruption from reason or reflection, than that reason and reflection should be cultivated independently of religion, and trained under the discipline of a vain philosophy.

When knowledge is thus constituted on a right foundation, we are very far from denying it to the female sex. But let it, besides this right foundation, have also a right bearing. The first and noblest use of knowledge in woman is to lay the ground of knowledge in others. Elementary education is chiefly in their hands. A great and awful trust! It was the Spartan mothers

that perpetuated the succession of the Spartan discipline. Just notions and elevated principles do not come unbidden: they do not sow themselves, like forest trees, or the vegetation of the plains. To be properly assimilated with the stamina of the child; to grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength, they should pre-exist in the parent, and pass out of her by a careful process of transfusion. In this way the child may acquire what the poet calls

“*Compositum jus, fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*”

A taste for literature and valuable knowledge cannot be taught without being felt. To bribe the early curiosities to the exercise and development of the mind, the early instructor must have been well instructed, and have acquired the art of blending information with delight. The powers, the beauties, the copious use of the mother tongue can only be known, felt, and transmitted by talents improved by various and studious reading in English literature, aided by some acquaintance with other idioms. And it is, perhaps, to the want of this preparation of the mother's mind for the task of early instruction, that the melancholy blank in respect to all the primary, professional, and practical acquirements of reading, articulation, elocution, reasoning, and composition, left by the education of our principal schools, so often remains to the end of life, disgracing the pulpit, the senate, and the bar.

The pleasure that occupies the highest place, and fills the widest space in rational existence, is free intellectual conversation. If women are to be our companions, we must share this pleasure with them, or we give them only a vain compliment—a nominal rank—the title without the estate. The most solid parts of intellectual culture are theirs by imprescriptible right as rational beings: it is the fairest of all their privileges, and our own sex has an equal interest in maintaining it for them against a perverse arrangement, which gives up their first years to fugitive attainments, that sparkle in the sunshine of youth, but perish, and their memorial with them, as age increases the want of resource.

We are obliged to Madame de Genlis for giving us this opportunity of detailing our sentiments on this subject, as they are not quite in the fashion of the day, and may want a little explaining and defending. We are also, in common with others, obliged to the same lady for many sensible observations contained in her introductory pages to the volume before us. We must, indeed, do her the justice to say, that whatever may have been her departures in practice from her own rules, (and on this

subject we can say nothing from personal knowledge,) all the productions of her pen which have come under our inspection have in the main been true to the cause of piety and virtue. It is something for a being on the confines of another world to be able to say to her soul; **WHATEVER THOU HAST THOUGHT OR DONE AMISS, THOU HAST NOT INCREASED THE SUM OF THY TRANSGRESSIONS BY THE CRIMES OF OTHERS, NOR ADDED AUGHT TO THY RECKONING WITH GOD, BY ENDEAVOURS TO INTERCEPT THE HOPES OF INNOCENCE, AND TO SHORTEN THE ARM OF HIS MERCY.** We are glad to do Madame de Genlis this piece of justice. It is the more creditable to her, in consideration of the dangerous examples by which she has been surrounded. The literature of her day has been much in the hands of those by whom the devil's work is done gratuitously, without the apology of passion or temptation; of those who love vice, not for itself, but for the ruin which it spreads: frigid speculators in debauchery! who for the mere luxury of doing harm, plot in their chambers against the peace of mankind; scattering pollution from their pens, and amusing themselves with calculations of eventual mischief. We have often admired the sterling sense of Madame de Genlis on the subject of education, and are astonished when we are told that, with a theory so opposite to that of the philosophers of her own country, she should yet affect to hold the literature, taste, and general character of this nation in great disesteem.

The early years of Madame de Genlis were passed in those societies of Paris which every travelled Englishman, to shew his breeding and improvement, delights to call brilliant; and brilliant they were; but brilliant at the expence of the comforts, the decencies, and charities of life; of all that dignifies and decorates the human condition. The prurient play of a debauched imagination, the sportive malice of wit, and the treacherous commerce of flattery, were the only compensation for the low intrigues, selfish passions, and jealous rivalry, which lay half concealed under the gaudy covering. That this was pretty much the state of the "good societies" of Paris under what is called the old government, we are informed by their own annals. Philosophy, garrulity, wit, obscenity, compliment, detraction, gluttony, levity, stars, ribbons, dirt, paint, and tinsel, make to the eyes of some men and many women in this country, and of all men and all women in France, a very imposing appearance. But as long as the substratum of the English character remains, (and we do not feel very secure of its remaining long,) that alone will be considered as "good society" here, in which cleanliness, manliness, and modesty ground politeness upon esteem, and in

which the charities of the heart are infused into the behaviour. That Madame de Genlis has emerged from the "good societies" of old France, and from the worse contamination of the revolutionary period, without a total depravation of principle, reflects no small credit upon her taste and discernment; but that having so emerged, and having visited England and experienced its hospitality, she can undervalue it's character and literary glory, is truly surprising.

We will now present to our readers some observations of our authoress, which, if they are not new, are spirited and just, and well expressed.

"Ce ne sont pas des goûts sédentaires qui peuvent distraire les femmes de leurs devoirs; laissons-les écrire, si elles sacrifient à cet amusement les spectacles, le jeu, les bals et les visites inutiles. Voilà les dissipations dangereuses qui empêchent de bien élever ses enfans, qui désunissent et qui ruinent les familles. L'abus d'une chose jette toujours dans l'extrémité opposée. On a voulu faire de toutes les jeunes personnes des artistes célèbres; aujourd'hui l'on soutient qu'une ignorance absolue est tout ce qui leur convient. On doute que cette manière de simplifier l'éducation répande beaucoup de charmes dans l'intérieur des ménages; les dons de la nature sont si précieux, qu'on ne doit en rejeter aucun: ainsi toutes dispositions véritables, toute aptitude non douteuse à un art, méritent d'être cultivées, parce qu'alors on a la certitude de donner un grand talent, c'est-à-dire la plus noble de toutes les ressources dans l'adversité, et l'amusement le plus agréable et le plus innocent dans toutes les situations de la vie. Qu'on ne donne de maîtres de chant et d'instrument qu'aux jeunes personnes qui ont de la voix, de l'oreille et le sentiment de la musique; qu'on n'enseigne le dessin qu'à celles qui ont le goût de cet art, et le nombre des amateurs sera infiniment restreint, et l'on ne rencontrera plus cette foule de petits talens à grandes prétentions, qui jettent tant d'ennui dans la société. La même règle peut s'appliquer aux élèves qui annoncent un esprit très-distingué. On doit mettre un soin particulier à former, à orner leur mémoire, et même à leur enseigner les langues savantes. Celles-là, par la suite, deviendroient vraisemblablement auteurs, mais elles entrent dans cette carrière avec l'avantage immense que peuvent donner de bonnes études. Les femmes ignorantes et sans talent n'oseroient lutter contre elles avec cette inégalité de fait: on ne les compare point aux hommes, elles bravent leur supériorité; mais elles craindroient celle des personnes de leur sexe: de sorte que le nombre effrayant des femmes auteurs seroit excessivement réduit, et il n'y en auroit plus de ridicules. Mais il faut que les femmes sachent à quelles conditions il leur est permis de devenir auteurs. 1°. Elles ne doivent jamais se presser de faire paroître leurs productions; durant tout le temps de leur jeunesse, elles doivent craindre toute espèce d'éclat, et même le plus honorable; 2°. toutes les bienséances leur prescrivent de montrer in-

variablenient dans leurs écrits le plus profond respect pour la religion, et les principes d'une morale austère; 3°. elles ne doivent répondre aux critiques que lorsqu'on fait une *fausse citation*, ou lorsque la censure est fondée sur un fait imaginaire. Une femme qui, dans ces réponses, prendroit le ton violent de la colère, ou qui se permettroit la moindre personnalité, auroit beaucoup plus de tort qu'un homme, parce que son sexe lui impose plus de délicatesse, de modestie et de douceur. Je n'exhorte point les femmes à jouer un rôle de *victimés*; au contraire, je les invite à prendre un avantage immense sur la plus grande partie des critiques modernes, par un ton noble et sérieux quand l'ironie est déplacée, et par des égards et une bienséance qui seroient aujourd'hui très-remarquables dans les discussions littéraires."

After having thus prescribed the conditions and qualifications of the right of females to become authors, she next proceeds to chastise the presumption of our sex in interfering with this right. As we are at a distance of many miles from her, with part of the ocean between us, we may venture to say that her indignation on this head is expressed in terms a little too boisterous to be either persuasive or convincing. We will not dispute the pretensions of women to become authors, but we think the best mode on their parts of asserting the right is by proving that the character sits gracefully upon them, rendering them neither vain nor presumptuous. Though we will not say in the language which has given Madame de Genlis so much offence, that women, on becoming authors, have abjured their sex and forfeited their female rights; yet we think it but reasonable and rather salutary than otherwise. that the critic, whose duty it is to abstain from all ungenerous attacks, and to give no unnecessary pain, should be allowed to execute his task without regard to sex or station. We will qualify the reader to judge for himself how far Madame de Genlis is justifiable in the warmth of feeling displayed by her in the passage alluded to.

"N'oserois-je parler des égards particuliers que des gens de lettres, des Français, doivent aux femmes qui sont entrées dans la même carrière? pourquoi le craindrois-je? On peut faire librement ces réflexions quand on écrit depuis trente-cinq ans. Je dois être accoutumée au ton de critique dont je suis l'objet. Je reconnois même avec plaisir que souvent j'ai eu lieu d'en être contente: ainsi je m'oublierai, sans aucun effort, dans l'examen que je vais faire.

"J'ai lu dans un journal cette étrange sentence contre les femmes auteurs: qu'elles ne méritent aucun égard, parce qu'en devenant auteurs, elles abjurent leur sexe et renoncent à tous leurs droits, etc.

"Cet arrêt est d'autant plus soudroyant, qu'il est formel, absolu, sans adoucissement, sans aucune exception.—Quoi! Madame de la Fayette, Madame de Lambert, Madame de Graffigny, ces femmes

charmantes, d'une conduite si irréprochable, d'un talent si distingué, abjurèrent leur sexe en devenant auteurs, et ne méritoient plus d'égards ! On ne pensoit pas ainsi dans le temps où elles ont vécu. A quoi doivent donc s'attendre les femmes auteurs qui n'ont ni ce rare mérite, ni cette considération personnelle ? Elles seront donc poursuivies, injuriées, bafouées impitoyablement et sans relâche ! Et celles qui auroient eu le malheur de faire de mauvais ouvrages, et d'y insérer des erreurs répréhensibles, quel seroit leur sort ? On les lapideroit apparemment.

“ Si l'on disoit que celui qui a prononcé une telle sentence contre les femmes, abjuroit dans ce moment son sexe et sa patrie, ce jugement rigoureux seroit approuvé de tous les Français.

“ Une femme qui n'a écrit que des ouvrages moraux ou utiles, et avec succès, mérite tous les égards dus à son sexe et tous ceux que l'on ne peut refuser aux auteurs estimables : celle que son imagination égareroit et qui publieroit un ouvrage condamnable, en mériteroit moins sans doute ; mais il faudroit encore, en la critiquant, se rappeler toujours que l'auteur est une femme, elle n'auroit point *abjuré son sexe* ; un écart n'est point une abjuration.

“ Enfin, on veut au vrai nous persuader que, dès qu'une femme s'écarte de la route commune qui lui est naturellement tracée, alors même qu'elle ne fait que des choses glorieuses, et qu'elle conserve toutes les vertus de son sexe, elle ne doit plus être regardée que comme un homme, et qu'elle n'a aucun droit à un respect particulier : par conséquent, Madame Dacier, qui traduisit Homère avec une si profonde érudition ; la Maréchale de Guébriant, qui remplit les fonctions d'ambassadeur, et qui en eut le titre, n'étoient au vrai que des espèces de *monstres* ! De toutes les carrières, celle qui convient le moins aux femmes est assurément celle des armes. Néanmoins les héros ont cru devoir se montrer tous magnanimes envers des femmes guerrières qu'avec des ennemis de leur sexe. Hercule, qui vainquit les Amazones, leur rendit les plus grands honneurs ; dans les combats littéraires de nos jours, on ne voit rien de semblable ; les journalistes n'ont ni la massue d'Hercule, ni sa générosité.

“ Dans le siècle de Louis XIV, où l'on vit tant d'hommes d'un talent éminent, où l'on vit briller tous ces génies sublimes qui ont à jamais illustré la littérature française, dans ce siècle où les mœurs furent infiniment plus graves que les nôtres, il y eut une multitude de femmes auteurs dans tous les genres et dans toutes les classes ; et non-seulement les gens de lettres ne se déchaînèrent point contre elles, ne déclamèrent point contre les femmes auteurs, mais ils se plurent à les faire valoir et à leur rendre tous les hommages de l'estime et de la galanterie. Cette conduite, ces procédés n'ont rien qui doivent surprendre. Alors nulle *rivalité d'auteurs* ne pouvoit raisonnablement exister entre les hommes et les femmes, et l'on sait que la supériorité incontestable est toujours indulgente, et que la force est toujours généreuse.”

We have such an opinion in general of the want of all solidity

of principle, and of all virtuous grounds of disgust or preference in the individuals composing the literary and philosophical societies of Paris, that we cannot rely with any satisfaction on their portraits of each other. There appears, however, in all the works of Madame de Genlis which we have met with, such respect to virtue, religion, and decency, that we confess ourselves inclined to pay some regard to her representation of characters and facts. We shall lay before our readers some interesting sketches of characters which appear to us to have been executed with fidelity and skill; but in our way to these specimens we feel it difficult to pass by her severe reflections on D'Alembert, whom she accuses of false taste, pedantry, dogmatism, and insolence in a part of his works, and of moroseness, discontent, and base ingratitude towards his country and his benefactors, without contrasting them with the eulogy which some of our brother critics have lavished upon this same D'Alembert, whom of all the men of genius that ever existed they pronounce to be the most amiable and respectable*. That his letters have in them a sprightly egotism and plausible air of good humour, that his mathematical genius was truly surprising, that his taste in literature was in many respects correct and elegant, we do not dispute; but we cannot so easily ascribe a decided superiority in the qualities of the heart to one who, there is too much reason to believe, revenged his quarrels with the clergy, by treating religion as an imposture, and by mixing with his philosophy the very dregs of ancient atheism.

Madame de Genlis has given us a very sprightly account of the celebrated Madame de la Fayette, the friend of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, from whom she stated herself to have derived her wit, and to have paid him by reforming his heart. Our authoress says, that she reformed also many of his maxims. We are of opinion, that it would have been a better service to the cause of virtue and humanity if she had persuaded that nobleman to abstain altogether from a work which is calculated only to make men distrustful of all appearances of good, to relax the springs of virtuous action, to extinguish mutual benevolence, and to reconcile the heart to its own turpitude, by teaching it to suppose an equal degree of it at the bottom of every character. The remarks of Madame de Genlis on the novel of the Comtesse de la Fayette, called *la Princesse de Cleves*, are very lively and sensible.

“ *Zaïde, roman moins diffus et plus intéressant que ceux de mademoiselle de Scudéri, est cependant à peu près dans le même genre ;*

* See *Edinb. Review*, No. 30. P. 465.

mais la Princesse de Clèves étoit à cette époque un ouvrage sans modèle et tout à fait original. C'est le premier roman français où l'on ait trouvé des sentimens toujours naturels, et des peintures vraies. Ce mérite éminent élèvera toujours madame de la Fayette au-dessus de tous les romanciers de sa nation, hommes et femmes. Madame de la Fayette a ouvert une nouvelle route aux auteurs qui écrivent dans ce genre, et elle a su tracer cette route avec tant d'intérêt et de vérité, que l'on n'a jamais pu la surpasser que par la manière d'écrire et par les intentions morales. La fiction de la Princesse de Clèves est attachante; mais loin d'être morale, elle rend très-dangereuse pour les jeunes personnes, la lecture de cet ouvrage. On y représente comme un modèle de raison, de prudence et de vertu, une femme qui, s'unissant avec un cœur parfaitement libre à un homme aimable et vertueux dont elle est adorée, ne peut néanmoins s'attacher à lui, et prend une passion invincible pour un autre. Elle veut cacher à jamais cette passion criminelle, mais elle ne se fait nul scrupule de s'en occuper et de la nourrir en secret: aussi la conserve-t-elle toujours. Voilà le plus dangereux tableau que l'on puisse offrir à la jeunesse: il est même faux; car une femme, trop foible pour chercher par tous les moyens possibles à se distraire d'un penchant coupable, n'aura pas la force de le cacher long-temps à celui qui en est l'objet. La véritable vertu ne se livre point à des sentimens qu'elle réprouve; elle en est trop effrayée pour y trouver un charme secret; elle les combat dès leur naissance, et elle en triomphe. Ses plus douces victoires, celles dont elle jouit le mieux, sont surtout au fond de son cœur; comment y conserveroit-elle, avec la paix, des pensées condamnables et des vœux criminels? Malgré un défaut si capital dans la conception de ce roman, on y sent, d'un bout à l'autre, un goût sincère de la vertu; la belle âme de l'auteur s'y peint sans emphase et toujours avec charme."

It is in the account of this amiable woman that our authoress takes occasion to favour us with the largest sample of her critical powers. The beauties and imperfections of style appear to have engaged much of her attention; and it seems to us that both her example and precepts afford useful instruction on this head. For one whose works are so very numerous, we believe, enough to fill upwards of fifty octavo volumes, Madame de Genlis writes with great correctness, and her industry and vigour of invention are really admirable. Her observations on the style of *Telemaque* and its general merits, which occur in many parts of the volume we are examining, are not always just; but they are for the most part ingenious and entertaining. She concludes a long censure of the careless redundancies and repetitions which she imputes to that work in general, (and some of which she points out with a trifling degree of minuteness,) with the following passage, which may be useful to the student of French literature.

- • “Télémaque contient des descriptions ravissantes, beaucoup de morceaux écrits d’une manière enchanteresse, des beautés sans nombre; on y trouve un fonds admirable de sagesse, de vertu, d’humanité; enfin ce livre, aussi beau qu’utile, a justement immortalisé son auteur: mais le style en est excessivement négligé; on le trouvera tel, même en le comparant à celui des grands écrivains de ce temps. Bossuet, plus hardi, écrit en général avec beaucoup plus de soin; il y a de l’inspiration dans sa hardiesse, dans tous ses grands mouvemens, et le travail nécessaire dans les morceaux moins élevés: néanmoins on risqueroit de s’égarer, en voulant imiter cette manière d’écrire si nerveuse, si rapide, si hardie. On doit lire et relire Bossuet, pour bien sentir jusqu’où l’on peut porter la sublimité de l’expression et l’élévation des idées; mais pour connoître la perfection continue du langage, c’est Massillon, et surtout Buffon, qu’il faut étudier.” •

At the bottom of the same page our authoress gives us a remark or two of Fontenelle, on a polite criticism on the *Princesse de Cleves*, by M. de Valincourt, which are so amiable and pleasing, that we cannot avoid extracting them, less for the general reader, than for those who, like ourselves, sit by their own authority in the chair of criticism. We wish that our warm approbation of the spirit of these remarks of Fontenelle may secure us, (but, alas, how great is the difference between speculation and practice!) from adopting the abuse, the insolence, and the party violence, which in the present day, under the mask of criticism, carries terror into the ranks of loyalty, piety, and virtue.

“La fameuse *Princesse de Clèves* ayant paru, M. de Valincourt en donna une critique, non pour s’opposer à la juste admiration du public, mais pour lui apprendre à ne pas admirer jusqu’aux défauts, et pour se donner le plaisir d’entrer dans des discussions fines et délicates. Ce dessein intéressoit le censeur à faire valoir lui-même, comme il a fait, les beautés à travers lesquelles il avoit su démêler les imperfections. Il répand dans son discours une gaieté agréable, et peut-être seulement pourroit-on croire qu’il va quelquefois jusqu’au ton de l’ironie, qui, quoique léger, est moins respectueux pour un livre d’un si rare mérite, que le ton d’une critique sérieuse et bien placée. On répondit avec autant d’aigreur et d’amertume que si on avoit eu à défendre une mauvaise cause. M. de Valincourt ne répliqua point; les honnêtes gens n’aimant point à s’engager dans ces sortes de combats, trop désavantageux pour ceux qui ont les mains liées par les bonnes mœurs et par les bienséances, etc.”

Upon another work of Madame de la Fayette, “*Histoire de Henriette d’Angleterre*,” the sister-in-law of Louis the Fourteenth, our authoress feelingly observes as follows:

“On dévoile, dans cet ouvrage, beaucoup d’imprudences et même de foiblesses de cette princesse. L’auteur qui avoit été admis dans

son intérieur le plus intime, auroit dû mieux respecter sa mémoire. On est fâché aussi que l'auteur parle avec si peu de ménagement de plusieurs femmes, nommant leurs amans, détaillant leurs intrigues les plus criminelles. La plume d'une femme ne doit jamais retracer de telles choses. A moins de preuves positives, irrécusables, et de raisons morales, fondées sur l'intérêt public, c'est sans doute une lâcheté d'attaquer les morts qui ne peuvent se défendre ; mais les écrits imprimés qu'on laisse après soi appartiennent au public, qui a toujours le droit de les juger ; ce ne sont que les personnalités, dénuées de preuves et de motifs utiles, qui dans ce cas sont doublement odieuses. Est-il moins condamnable d'écrire des anecdotes scandaleuses que l'on n'oseroit publier de son vivant, et de les laisser dans son porte-feuille à ses héritiers ? C'est profaner le repos inviolable de la tombe, ou pour mieux dire, c'est en abuser.

“ Une simple réflexion eût suffi à une personne aussi estimable que madame de la Fayette, pour lui faire sentir qu'un tel ouvrage étoit indigne d'elle. Il est vrai qu'elle dit dans une préface, qu'elle a écrit cette histoire par les ordres même de Madame. Mais si cette princesse étoit assez imprudente pour désirer que la postérité fût instruite de ses intrigues avec Vardes et le comte de Guiche, madame de la Fayette ne devoit pas céder à un désir si déraisonnable. D'ailleurs, rien n'obligeoit l'auteur à diffamer plusieurs femmes qu'elle déshonore dans cet ouvrage. Enfin, madame de la Fayette a continué cette histoire après la mort de la princesse, puisqu'elle y rend compte de cette mort. Madame de la Fayette devoit alors brûler ce manuscrit.”

The particulars given us by the authoress of the life of Madame de Maintenon are interesting, and elaborately written. One of the anecdotes of that distinguished female impresses us with a high idea of her extraordinary discretion.

“ Elle conduisit aux eaux le jeune duc du Maine, fils du roi et de madame de Montespan, et boiteux depuis sa naissance. Le roi ordonna à madame Scarron de lui écrire régulièrement pendant toute la durée du voyage ; il demandoit des lettres ; madame Scarron n'écrivit que des bulletins : elle eut le bon goût de sentir qu'elle devoit paroître croire que le roi, en donnant cet ordre, n'avoit désiré que recevoir régulièrement et avec détail des nouvelles de son fils. Une femme ordinaire n'eût pas manqué de saisir cette occasion de chercher à montrer de l'esprit. Il falloit une bien grande supériorité pour être audessus d'une prétention si naturelle, ou pour la sacrifier. Le roi fit aisément ces réflexions, et d'autant plus qu'il n'ignoroit pas que personne n'écrivait mieux que madame Scarron ; il loua même cette modestie délicate et respectueuse.”

A mode of attack never omitted to be made by the profligate, (who, by the by, are the most bigotted and intolerant, in their own way, of all men upon earth, bigotted in their unbelief, and intolerant in their laxity,) upon the serious, the sober, and the de-

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tout, is to accuse them of hypocrisy. The charge is easily made, and the disposition to listen to calumny, especially against the virtuous, makes it easy to be sustained. Invention is always ready to second malice; and the whisper of scandal is as audible as thunder when the religious man is to be handed over to ridicule as a pretended saint. If his present conduct is too conspicuously good to be successfully misrepresented, his early days are overhauled, and the sins of his youth are summoned to testify against his grey hairs. Madame de Maintenon's religious life drew upon her the calumnies of this sort of defamers, and her biographer comments upon them with a respectable warmth.

“Cependant madame de Maintenon, toujours invariable dans sa conduite ainsi que dans ses principes, ne voyoit le roi qu'entourée de ses enfans ou chez la reine. Elle devint l'objet des hommages et de la terreur des courtisans. Un tel empire préparoit à de grandes réformes dans les mœurs. Tandis que madame de Maintenon élevoit de pauvres enfans abandonnés, tandis qu'elle alloit porter la joie sous le toit de l'indigent, on l'accusoit d'hypocrisie, on calomnioit sa jeunesse avec atrocité dans une multitude de libelles, on faisoit contre elle des chansons infâmes : sous prétexte de dénoncer au roi ces vils écrits, on les mit sous ses yeux ; il répondit froidement : *Cela ne mérite que du mépris*. Madame de Maintenon n'ignora pas ces noirceurs ; on lui conseilla des vengeances, elle rejeta ce conseil avec horreur. *On ne triomphe de la calomnie qu'en la dédaignant*, disoit-elle : maxime vraie sous le règne d'un prince éclairé, et qui fut également justifiée par sa conduite et par sa fortune.”

We cannot avoid extracting another anecdote of Madame de Maintenon, which interested us much in the perusal, although we think that we recollect the passage, as well as that which we have before quoted, in a former work of Madame de Genlis, on the Life of Madame de Maintenon.

“Souvent madame de Maintenon alloit recevoir ces pauvres dans la pièce où ils se rassembloient : un matin qu'elle leur donnoit audience de cette manière, un vieil ecclésiastique perçant la foule, s'approcha d'elle, et lui dit tout haut : Il y a trente-six ans, madame, que je ne vous ai vue.—Vous souvient-il qu'à votre retour des Îles, vous vous rendiez tous les jeudis à la porte des jésuites de la Rochelle, où les pères distribuoient des alimens aux pauvres ? Employé à cette distribution, je vous distinguai parmi tous les autres mendiants ; je fus frappé de la noblesse de votre physionomie, j'observai votre embarras, j'en eus pitié et j'envoyai les alimens chez vous. Pendant cet étrange discours, qui pour toute autre eût été si maladroît et si déplacé, tous les yeux étoient fixés sur madame de Maintenon, et l'on ne put remarquer en elle ni la plus légère émotion, ni la moindre nuance d'embarras ; elle ne rougit point, elle écouta d'un air attentif et calme : ensuite, quand le vieillard eut cessé de parler, elle répondit qu'elle se rappeloit parfaitement tout ce qu'il venoit de dire, elle l'appela son bienfaiteur, et après l'avoir remercié

avec attendrissement, elle l'emmena dans son cabinet, comme pour lui épargner à son tour l'humiliation d'exposer tout haut ses besoins; là, elle le pria d'accepter une bourse qui contenoit cent pistoles, en lui annonçant que tous les ans elle la rempliroit de la même somme. Le roi entrant chez elle dans ce moment, elle lui présenta cet ecclésiastique, en lui disant : *Voilà mon père nourricier ; et vous ne serez plus surpris, Sire, que je vous importune quelquefois pour les orphelins.*"

Her disapprobation of the quietism of Fenelon seems to us to be just, and her general admiration of him to be equally well founded : but we cannot acquiesce in her justification of that most disgraceful of arbitrary measures the disgrace of that prelate, on account of the bold lesson which his *Telemachus* read in the ear of princes. There is nothing in the conduct of this most exemplary man, and courageous Christian, which we so admire as his maintenance of truth and virtue without regard to any consequences to himself; and nothing amidst all his mock splendour shewed the littleness of that inflated prince of whose great soul Madame de Genlis is so fond of talking*, as his falling out with the author of a satire, if satire it was, which his own pride and folly made applicable to himself, and which it was in his power, by his virtues, to have converted into eulogy. The pencil of Madame de Genlis has given us very lively sketches of Madame Dacier; Madame de Graffigny, the writer of the *Peruvian letters*, the first production of a woman, says our authoress, written with elegance; Madame Leprince de Beaumont, "qui la première s'occupa avec détail, et une grande suite, de l'éducation de l'enfance, et de la première jeunesse, et qui donna l'idée de travailler dans ce genre;" and Madame Riccoboni, the writer of the romance of *Juliette de Catesby*.

Of Madame du Deffant, (whose name we have hitherto found spelt with a d final,) the notice taken by this volume is very short. We have on a former occasion spoken out pretty plainly as to the merits of this lady, as well as of her companion Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse, whose constant calenture has interested so strongly the sensibilities of some of our reviewing contemporaries; and of their coteries; we cannot, therefore, disagree with our authoress in the following remark. "Il étoit impossible de connoître Madame du Deffant, et d'étudier son caractère, sans se confirmer dans l'opinion que la fausse philosophie,

* The present devotion of Madame de Genlis to arbitrary power is easy to be explained. She has held the office, we believe a nominal office, of governess to the children of Joseph Buonaparte, with a pension of 1200 dollars a year from the emperor; and it is said that she is expected to compose something for the emperor every week, but on what subject, or whether on any particular subject, we have not heard. She occupies apartments over the library of the arsenal of the Kings of France, for which she pays nothing.

•détend tous les ressorts de l'âme, flétrit l'imagination et dessèche le cœur." The account of this celebrated lady is closed in the following words, to the truth of which we heartily subscribe. "Madame du Deffant mourut en 1780, âgée de quatre-vingt-quatre ans; il y en avoit trente qu'elle étoit aveugle. On a publié des lettres d'elle, qui font peu d'honneur à sa mémoire. Il est remarquable que toutes les correspondances des philosophes modernes, mises au jour depuis leur mort, soient également scandaleuses, odieuses, et déshonorantes pour eux. Fausseté, méchanceté, duplicité, inconséquences, mauvaises mœurs, ambition et vanité demesurées, cabales, haine, basse envie, animosité, injustice, extravagance, toutes ces choses s'y trouvent prouvées et dévoilées de leur propre main."

The portrait of Madame Necker is ably drawn, and indeed all her remarks comprised in the chapter which she has bestowed on that distinguished person are worthy of peculiar attention. We will give one specimen.

"Elle épousa M. Necker, qui n'étoit alors que simple commis d'un banquier suisse. Quand M. Necker fut parvenu à la direction des finances de France, Madame Necker ne se servit de son pouvoir que pour faire plus de bien. Elle contribua à l'amélioration du régime intérieur des hôpitaux, et elle dirigea elle-même un hospice de charité qu'elle établit à ses frais près de Paris. Elle eut tout ce qui caractérise la véritable vertu : des principes religieux, inébranlables, une grande élévation d'âme, une régularité de conduite et des mœurs au-dessus de tout soupçon, et une extrême indulgence. Elle fut bonne mère, amie fidèle, et la plus tendre, la meilleure des épouses. Cette femme, si digne d'estime et d'admiration, n'eut qu'un défaut; mais ce défaut troubla sa vie, y jeta à la fois du ridicule et de l'amertume, lui fit faire plusieurs inconséquences, et finit par égarer son jugement et son esprit. Elle eut un goût trop passionné pour la littérature : tant il est vrai que le goût le plus innocent et même le plus noble, quand il n'est pas renfermé dans de justes bornes, peut avoir les plus graves inconvéniens, surtout pour une femme. Cette passion, devenue dominante dans une personne qui avoit le sentiment de sa force, et qui se trouvoit avec raison si supérieure, par l'esprit et l'instruction, à toutes les autres femmes, lui inspira un ardent désir d'obtenir une grande célébrité, et pour elle et pour l'objet de sa plus vive affection, et dont la gloire devoit rejaillir sur elle; ensuite sa liaison intime avec M. Thomas donna à ses idées et à son style cette exagération, cette emphase, qui ont fait dire si plaisamment à un excellent critique :

Quoi ! je ne puis trouver Condorcet ennuyeux,
Dorat impertinent, d'Alembert précieux,
Et Thomas assommant, quand sa lourde éloquence,
Souvent pour ne rien dire, ouvre une bouche immense ?

“ Madame Necker admiroit trop profondément cet académie pour ne pas chercher à l'imiter : alors se forma cette école malheureuse, si féconde en brillans galimatias ; école un peu décréditée aujourd'hui, dont M. Thomas a été le meilleur auteur et le chef, et dont Madame Necker fut la mère.”

The criticisms of Madame Genlis on the works of Madame Cottin are replete with excellent sense and fine taste, eloquently and convincingly enforced.

“ Claire d'Albe eut beaucoup de succès ; et servit de modèle à tous ceux dont on enrichit depuis la littérature republicaine. Ce roman est à tous égards un mauvais ouvrage, sans intérêt, sans imagination, sans vraisemblance et d'une immoralité révoltante ; mais comme il a eu le triste honneur de former une nouvelle école de romanciers, qu'il est le premier où l'on ait représenté l'amour déliant, furieux et féroce, et une héroïne vertueuse, religieuse, angélique, et se livrant sans mesure et sans pudeur à tous les emportemens d'un amour effréné et criminel, il est impossible de le passer sous silence et de ne pas entrer dans quelques détails à cet égard.”

The disgusting and preposterous absurdity of the concluding event of that novel, is reprobated in merited terms.

We take our leave of this lively and intelligent lady, with our sincere thanks to her for the general good tendency, vigorous composition, and instructive contents of this latest of her labours, and with great cordiality we wish it may not be the last.

ART. XI. *Statistical Survey of the County of Cork, with Observations on the Means of Improvement, drawn up for the Consideration, and by Direction of the Dublin Society.* By the Rev. Horatio Townshend, M.A. Rector and Vicar of the Union of Kilgariffe, in the Diocese of Ross, and of Carigaline, in the Diocese of Cork. Dublin : Graisberry and Campbell. 1810. 8vo. pp. 853.

Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, Knight of St. Patrick, &c. &c. &c. By Francis Hardy, Esq. Member of the House of Commons in the three last Parliaments of Ireland. London : Cadell and Davies. 1810. 4to. pp. 443.

WE have been induced to select these two works, and to offer them together to the consideration of our readers, because one of them appears to us to give the best, (though certainly an imperfect) account of what the government of Ireland has been induced or compelled to do for the benefit of the people in the

course of the last half century:—while the other details the satisfactory result of the benefits conferred, wherever that portion of the people, upon whose conduct must always depend the prosperity of the whole, have had the coolness and the good sense to perceive that the most enlightened mode of pursuing their private interests is by promoting the public good. It is this conviction, we believe, that in the majority of minds lays the foundation of patriotism. It is certainly the corner-stone upon which rests the prosperity of England;—and if the observation of Bishop Berkeley be true, that it is not the English constitution which has formed English minds and manners, but English minds and manners which have formed the English constitution, it is upon the same foundation that must also be erected the superstructure of Ireland's prosperity. To fit the people of Ireland, therefore, for the constitution under which they live, it must be the great duty and leading object of its government, to engraft upon the national character as much as possible of English mind and English manners. We are far from intending to make invidious comparisons, or to assert that; abstractedly speaking, the English character is by nature superior to the Irish; but as the geographical position and political relations of Ireland have formed its constitution upon the English model—as it has lately been actually identified with it, by a connection which nothing but the subjection of Ireland to France and the consequent ruin of England can ever dissolve, it appears to us self-evident, that the only chance of permanent repose and prosperity to Ireland must rest upon the honest endeavours of its statesmen and higher orders of society to assimilate the national character to the constitution of their government. Providence has excluded them from the power of forming a system of government upon a reference to their national character. The ardour of the untamed Arabian courser must be modified to fit it for the useful purposes of regular labour, and when so tempered, it will perhaps constitute a breed combining vigour with utility, and superior to that which may in the first instance be proposed as the model by which it is to be trained.

If, instead of the selfish and miserable policy by which Ireland was misgoverned for two centuries previous to the present reign, this object had been kept in view with a steady eye, and promoted by an even hand, there is not a shadow of doubt that Ireland would have been as internally happy, united, and prosperous, as Yorkshire or North Britain. But we are resolved to profit by the “political legacy” of Mr. Hardy, and “to indulge in no political retrospect” that can give rise to

"political ill-humour." We shall therefore merely state, 'as palliation' of the conduct of England, that Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Montjoy, Lord Strafford, and the men of abilities, who have from time to time governed Ireland, have constantly complained that all their endeavours for the benefit of the country, and to preserve the true spirit of its connection with England, have been frustrated, in consequence of false representations made to the English government principally by Irishmen resident in England, or by Englishmen who had previously been employed in Ireland, or by men who went from Ireland to England to forward their own views of interest or ambition, by giving false colours to the state of the country, and frequently by calumniating the good intentions of the Irish government. It is to the last degree heart-breaking to read the strong and earnest representations made by such men as Lord Ormond, Lord Clanrickard, and those we have just named, and to perceive the little attention paid to them in England: nor can we possibly avoid being of opinion with Sir John Davis, that it has been through the fault of the English settled in Ireland, and the attention mistakenly paid to them by the English government, coupled with its want of confidence in those employed in the Irish government, that much of the evil has arisen; "For," as he truly observes, "if there be two-third parts of the country where the king cannot punish treasons, murders, and thefts, unless he send an army to do it;—if the jurisdiction of his ordinary courts of justice doth not extend to protect the people of those parts from *wrong and oppression*;—he may be called sovereign lord of the country, but it cannot justly be said to be brought under his obedience." Such, unfortunately, we fear may still be said to be in some degree the state of many parts of Ireland, and of some almost within sight of the capital; and until very lately, such was the state of a very large proportion of all Ireland. In short, reasoning with English prejudices and predilections, and with preconceived opinions arising out of them; upon the ex-parte statement of interested individuals, and then shutting the eyes to all contrary information from the scene of action, has been the bane of English counsels, as much with respect to Ireland in former times, as with respect to the continental states in the last war. The error was more in the judgment than in the will.

Having stated thus much in palliation of conduct which we are aware cannot be justified, we now proceed to the period at which Mr. Hardy's History commences, and at which a brighter æra seemed to open upon Ireland.

To give a correct delineation of the state of the people at this

period is consistent neither with our limits nor our means of information. The press teems with crude and hasty descriptions of the Irish character, the falschood and omissions of which it is more easy to point out than to supply. An enlightened and venerable prelate, lately deceased, (the Bishop of Dromore,) after a residence of forty years, and after having studied the character of the Irish people with attention for more than twenty years, used to say, that he could even then scarcely flatter himself with the hope of being of more than slight assistance to an Englishman in gaining *some* knowledge of the habits, manners, and character of a people "so very different from those of his native country." The varieties in the people to be studied are so great, that the knowledge of a few specimens is totally insufficient. The old Irish, the old English settlers, the modern English settlers, the French refugees, have all distinct national characters. The church of England men, the presbyterians, other protestant dissenters, quakers, and Roman catholics, have all their separate influence upon a community, whose distinct parts are not yet connected by any very strong bands of general interest. And the different orders of the Roman catholic society, by far the most numerous, are, in the present state of their civil condition, actuated by very different interests. What person then, superficially acquainted with Ireland, shall presume to trace the intricate mazes of this social labyrinth? There were however certain visible barriers to improvement which we shall venture, with Mr. Hardy's assistance, hastily to enumerate. A House of Commons, of which the members held their seats without recurrence to the electors for their own lives or that of their sovereign—managed by a junto of jobbing great men, who attended principally to their own personal interests, and might therefore be soothed or bribed to desert Irish objects, where they might be supposed by the selfish spirit of the English to interfere with their interests;—a House of Lords, which day after day and year after year, as Mr. Hardy humorously describes it, "met, heard prayers, ordered that the judges should be covered, and—*then adjourned*;"—a commerce enslaved to the supposed rival interests of that of England;—a church whose bishops were conspicuous for any merits but learning and attention to religion, and often notorious for their vices and follies;—a parochial clergy, known to their flock chiefly through the medium of their tythe proctors;—a peccant excess of population suffered to grow up in ignorance and vice, or rather condemned to a perpetual bondage in them, by the tyranny and infatuation of an

oppressive political cabal, who abused their protestant ascendancy by converting it into an instrument of private ambition, instead of employing it to lead their poorer countrymen from the clutches of bigotry and the depression of idleness, into the light of truth and the paths of industry;—such was the lamentable condition of Ireland at the commencement of the reign of George III. The progress of the piece of biography before us, though, as we have observed, it is far from containing a regular history of Irish affairs, will suffice to give a very competent idea of the change that has taken place.

The Earl of Charlemont sprang from a family of equestrian dignity in Oxfordshire, of the name of Caulfield. “Sir Toby Caulfield having done good service to Queen Elizabeth in Spain and the Low Countries,” was rewarded by large grants of confiscated lands in Ireland, and created Baron of Charlemont in the year 1620. In 1665 the dignity of viscount was conferred on William, the fifth baron, whose great grandson (the subject of the work before us) was born in 1728. He received a private education, and at the age of eighteen went abroad, where he passed his time in a manner much more profitable to himself and creditable to his country than did the majority of British travellers of that period. He remained abroad from the autumn of 1746, to the year 1755, which Mr. Hardy calls eleven years, although according to our reckoning, it constitutes an absence of only nine years. In this interval he visited almost every part of Europe, and became acquainted with almost every distinguished character. Young, lively, amiable, and accomplished, he seems to have attracted universal good will, if not admiration; for the British character was at that time duly appreciated on the continent. That he was not corrupted by the profligacy of the continental courts the following extracts from his papers about this period will sufficiently prove. Of David Hume, whom he met at Turin in the character of Secretary of Legation, he thus writes: “He had then lately published those philosophical essays which have done so much mischief to mankind by contributing to loosen the sacred bonds by which alone man can be restrained,” &c. &c. “The world, however, unconscious of its danger, greedily swallowed the bait. The Essays were received with applause, read with delight, and their admired author was already by public opinion placed at the head of the dangerous school of sceptic philosophy.” (P. 7; 8.)

“Nature, I believe, never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his

mind in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and flat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes, vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman, than of a refined philosopher. His speech, in English, was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent, and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old, he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing an uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the trained bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin, as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was, therefore, thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer, and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.

“ Having thus given an account of his exterior, it is but fair that I should state, that of all the philosophers of his sect, none I believe ever joined more benevolence to its mischievous principles than my friend Hume. His love to mankind was universal and vehement; and there was no service he would not cheerfully have done to his fellow-creatures, excepting that of suffering them to save their souls in their own way. He was tender-hearted, friendly, and charitable in the extreme; but the difficulty will now occur, how a man endowed with such qualities could possibly consent to become the agent of so much mischief, as undoubtedly has been done to mankind by his writings; and this difficulty can only be solved by having recourse to that universal passion, which has, I fear, a much more general influence over all our actions than we are willing to confess. Pride, or vanity, joined to a sceptical turn of mind, and to an education which, though learned, rather sipped knowledge than drank it, was, probably, the ultimate cause of this singular phenomenon; and the desire of being placed at the head of a sect, whose tenets controverted and contradicted all received opinions, was too strong to be resisted by a man, whose genius enabled him to find plausible arguments sufficient to persuade both himself and many others that his own opinions were true. A philosophical knight-errant was the dragon he had vowed to vanquish, and he was careless, or thoughtless of the consequences which might ensue from the achievement of the adventure to which he had pledged himself.—He once professed himself the admirer of a young, beautiful, and accomplished lady of Turin, who only laughed at his passion. One day he addressed her in the usual common phrase, *strain*, that he was *abimé, anéanti*.—‘*Oh! pour anéanti,*’ replied the lady, ‘*ce n’est en effet qu’une operation tres naturelle de votre systeme.*’” (Page 8.)

We believe these observations to be upon the whole no less cor-

rect than entertaining : and we shall also insert a passage in which Mr. Hume and another character equally celebrated appear in a contrast no less singular than deservedly contemptible.

“ About this time, 1766, or somewhat before this, Lord Charlemont once more met his friend Hume. His lordship mentions him in some detached papers, which I shall here collect, and give to the reader. ‘ Nothing,’ says Lord C. ‘ ever shewed a mind more beneficent than Hume’s whole conduct with regard to Rousseau. That story is too well known to be repeated, and exhibits a striking picture of Hume’s heart, whilst it displays the strange and unaccountable vanity and madness of the Swiss moralist. When first they arrived together from France, happening to meet with Hume in the park, I wished him joy of his pleasing connection, and particularly hinted that I was convinced he must be perfectly happy in his new friend, as their sentiments were, I believed, nearly similar. Why no, man, said he, in that you are mistaken ; Rousseau is not what you think him ; he has a hankering after the Bible, and indeed, is little better than a Christian, in a way of his own.—Excess of vanity was the madness of Rousseau. When he first arrived in London, he and his Armenian dress were followed by crowds, and as long as this species of admiration lasted, he was contented and happy. But in London such sights are only the wonder of the day, and in a very short time he was suffered to walk where he pleased, unattended, unobserved. From that instant his discontent may be dated. But to dwell no longer on matters of public notoriety, I shall only mention one fact, which I can vouch for truth, and which would of itself be amply sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the amazing eccentricity of this singular man. When after having quarrelled with Hume and all his English friends, Rousseau was bent on making his escape, as he termed it, into France, he stopped at a village between London and Dover, and from thence wrote to General Conway, then secretary of state, informing him that, although he had got so far with safety, he was well apprised that the remainder of his route was so beset by his inexorable enemies, that, unprotected, he could not escape. He therefore solemnly claimed the protection of the king, and desired that a party of cavalry might be immediately ordered to escort him to Dover. This letter General Conway shewed to me, together with his answer, in which he assured him, that the postilions were altogether a very sufficient guard throughout every part of the king’s dominions.’ ” (Page 120.)

We shall conclude these extracts concerning Hume with two more passages, by the pen of Lord Charlemont.

“ But an unfortunate disposition to doubt of every thing seemed interwoven with the nature of Hume, and never was there, I am convinced, a more thorough and sincere sceptic. He seemed not to be certain even of his own present existence, and could not therefore be expected to entertain any settled opinion respecting his fu-

ture state. Once I asked him what he thought of the immortality of the soul? 'Why, troth man,' said he, 'it is so pretty and so comfortable a theory, that I wish I could be convinced of its truth, but I canna help doubting.' In England, either his philosophic pride, or his conviction that infidelity was ill suited to women, made him perfectly averse from the initiation of ladies into the mysteries of his doctrine. I never saw him so much displeased, or so much disconcerted, as by the petulance of Mrs. Mallett, the conceited wife of Bolingbroke's editor. This lady, who was not acquainted with Hume, meeting him one night at an assembly, boldly accosted him in these words: 'Mr. Hume, give me leave to introduce myself to you, we deists ought to know one another:—' 'Madam,' replied he, 'I am no deist; I do not style myself so, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation.' Nothing ever gave Hume more real vexation than the strictures made upon his history in the House of Lords, by the great Lord Chatham. Soon after that speech I met Hume, and ironically wished him joy of the high honour that had been done him. 'Zounds man,' said he, with more peevishness than I had ever seen him express, 'he's a Goth! he's a Vandal!—Indeed, his history is as dangerous in politics, as his essays are in religion; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the same man who labours to free the mind from what he supposes religious prejudices, should as zealously endeavour to shackle it with the servile ideas of despotism.' (Page 121.)

Our wish to hasten to the more important periods of Lord Charlemont's life will only permit us to add one other extract from this part of the memoirs, which occupies about forty pages, and which we strongly recommend, as very instructive and entertaining. He was on very intimate terms at Paris with the President Montesquieu, and witnessed the expiring fires of that celebrated beau and philosopher, then seventy years old.

"In the course of our conversations (says Lord Charlemont) Ireland and its interests have often been the topic; and upon these occasions I have always found him an advocate for an union between that country and England. Were I an Irishman, said Montesquieu, I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general *lover* of liberty, I sincerely desire it, and for this plain reason, that an inferior country, connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has by her representatives a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom." (P. 36.)

At the period of Lord Charlemont's return from the continent, Ireland was just beginning to feel her power and importance, and to spurn at the system of oppression by which she had been so long kept below her natural level in the scale of the three kingdoms.

It was the interest of one of the great men of that day to seek the

aid of the people; and the people finding that they could aid others, naturally enough discovered that they could help themselves. Popular leaders started forth, endowed with all the liveliness and energy of the national character; and they, of course, sought to fortify their party (for Ireland now for the first time beheld a popular party) by every accession of rank or talent which they could procure. A person who had made so considerable a figure on the continent as Lord Charlemont, whose extensive correspondence (widely circulated in his native country) evinced great talent, and whose character was amiable and unimpeached, could scarcely fail to attract the eyes of a party then much in want of a leader. His character and disposition equally conspired to cement the connection which shortly took place between him and the whigs of Ireland. With a truly Irish partiality for his country, with a sincere desire to convert the talents and character acquired with so much industry to laudable and patriotic purposes, actuated by a due portion of that venial vanity that delights in popular applause, and which, perhaps, is never more strongly impressed than upon characters compounded of great talents and a certain shyness of nature, he was precisely that composition of a man of which his country stood in need; and we are not surprised, that after an ineffectual struggle or two on the part of the self-indulgent propensities of his nature, to retain him in the more congenial society of England, he made a strenuous exertion and a noble sacrifice, by fixing his permanent residence in his native country, and resolved to look upon its moral and political improvement as the object and reward of all the future exertions of his life. That these were his leading motives we have no doubt, and if they were occasionally mixed with others of a somewhat lower cast, he must have a different view of human nature from that which we have been taught to cherish, who would harshly notice them, or consider them as degrading Lord Charlemont from the eminence on which he stood, as the ornament of his country, and a bright example to the "great men" of Ireland. We will presume to assert, that if two-thirds of her nobility would now act upon the same principles in the several æras of her progressive prosperity, more would be done for her people and for the interests of the united empire, than three centuries of public discussion and parliamentary enactment could possibly bring to pass.

It is one of the most distressing circumstances of the office we have undertaken, that our limits will scarcely ever allow of a detailed account of the important works to which we profess to confine our criticisms, and also admit of those reflections upon their result which may tend to correct and enlarge the

moral and political views of our countrymen. This must be our excuse for not following Mr. Hardy minutely into all the details of Lord Charlemont's life, and of the political warfare in which he was engaged. We strongly recommend the perusal of them to our readers, as containing the best account extant of Irish affairs, and Irish political characters of the last half century, enlivened by much interesting and amusing anecdote. The style of the work is far from heavy, and though not exactly that in which a correct Englishman would write, is extremely characteristic of an Irish gentleman. Eager, vivid, and peculiar, its principal defect is an affectation of ornament and a want of that perspicuity of expression which, among the graces of composition, is like prudence among the virtues,—the qualifier and test of their perfection.

After this general recommendation of the work, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief summary of the victories over the evil genius of Ireland, gained by Lord Charlemont, by the aid and advice principally of Mr. Grattan, whom his lordship first brought into the Irish parliament, by his influence in the borough from which he took his title. For the first twenty years after his return to Ireland, Lord Charlemont seems to have uniformly sustained the character of an active, enlightened, and patriotic gentleman; exercising his extensive influence with the people to discountenance turbulence and rebellion, and to support the just rights of government; and using his credit with the ruling powers for the protection and advantage of his countrymen. In 1772, his majesty in the most gracious manner conferred upon him, through the new lord lieutenant, the unsolicited honour of an earldom of the kingdom of Ireland.

This seems to be the period of Lord Charlemont's life, in which his situation and employments were most congenial with his disposition and acquirements. But he was destined, in spite of nature, to engage in more bustling scenes, and to be the instrument in the hands of others of conferring more important benefits on his country. In the year 1778, the fear of French invasion and the paucity of troops in Ireland gave rise to the volunteer force, which, by the strange blunders of the Irish government, acquired strength and consistence independently of, and almost in defiance of, the crown and its viceroy. Lord Charlemont was generalissimo of this force; and under him 40,000 men, armed and trained, in fact governed Ireland; and gave the people such a foretaste of their importance and independence, as nothing but the prudence and patriotism of their leaders could have prevented from exploding into an absolute subversion of

all the laws and institutions of the kingdom. Providentially, however, the fire gradually decayed, and, at length, died entirely away without any conflagration; but not till after it had been instrumental in extorting, first a free trade, next a relaxation of the penal code, then a habeas corpus act, and lastly, the perfect and acknowledged independence of the Irish parliament.

The years which immediately succeeded were the most flourishing that Ireland had ever known; no interference on the part of government could be said to check the native energies of the people; and agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, of course, proceeded with that limited degree of velocity which the moral degradation of the mass of the people admitted. The catholics too had not been taught by the private interests of party combatants—that toleration was synonymous with political power. They were as well satisfied, as from the nature of the case they ever can or will be, with the exclusive enjoyment of the former, and seemed to acquiesce in the justice of the privation of those civil privileges which they chose to forego for conscience sake. But this was a deceitful calm. The question of the regency in 1789 brought the English and Irish parliaments into direct opposition, and shewed plainly, that to ensure future tranquillity and prosperity to the empire, it was necessary that the legislatures should be united. The irritable elements of the Irish character were thrown into violent fermentation by the French revolution and its consequences, and the unfortunate contests of ambition among our candidates for political power produced a state of things among the catholics, offering scarcely any result which is not exposed to an alternative of evil. The union of England and Ireland (opposition to the first stages of which was the last political act of Lord Charlemont,) has completely remedied the first evil; the domestic evils arising out of the French revolution have, at length, worked their own cure; but the last evil still rages with increased violence, and requires the combined talent and patriotism of the people and their rulers, to put the finishing hand to the prosperity of Ireland, and the strength and glory of the united empire.

Still, however, enough was done by the honest statesmen and sincere friends of Ireland, to secure the improvement of the people wherever their moral condition and freedom from party violence permitted them to avail themselves of the impulse imparted. Of this Mr. Townshend's work, to which we now proceed, affords ample and gratifying proofs, and directs the judgment very clearly to what is yet wanting in the system. The survey of Cork is drawn up for the consideration of the Dublin

society, upon the same plan with those useful reports upon the Scotch and English counties, which are procured by the Board of Agriculture in this country. It is executed in a manner by no means inferior to the best of those productions, which, as our readers know, are from the experienced hand of Mr. Arthur Young, the secretary to the English Board: and our readers, particularly those of Ireland, will admit, that we have not called their attention to an insignificant production, when we inform them, that it contains an enlightened summary of the items, whose accumulated values have carried the present rental of the single county of Cork beyond that of all Ireland in the year 1797, as computed by Mr. Brown. In proof and illustration of this fact, Mr. Townshend, after a general description of the boundaries, surface, and inhabitants of the county, enters into a minute description of the modes of culture, labour, towns, manufactories, population, roads, seats, and general improvements in each particular barony.

"That the people, observes Mr. Townshend, have not yet wholly emerged from rudeness, will be considered as no reproach, if we consider them as in their progress to a degree of civilization hitherto unattained. They only who invest them with glory never enjoyed, and arts never possessed, convey a severe though unintended censure upon their degeneracy. The progress of their advancement since the means have been afforded has, in reality, been very rapid; and perhaps no country can be named in which improvement in the elegant as well as useful arts is more happily accelerating. That those means were long withheld by jealous and mistaken policy must be a matter of regret; that there is such a general disposition to take advantage of them, now that they are offered, is a rational cause of exultation. Instead, therefore, of affording food to discontent by a mortifying display of former greatness (which never existed), it should be the laudable object of the true patriot to represent them (truly) as having lost nothing that was worth retaining, and as possessing opportunities which turbulence alone can disappoint of acquiring an ample share of fame and prosperity, by a sedulous attention to the pursuits of industry." (P. 67—8.)

The county of Cork, where, from a variety of favourable circumstances, this system has been closely pursued of late years, exhibits the strongest proofs of its merits, and an animating example to the rest of Ireland. The population and number of houses have increased in a ratio almost incredible, Mr. Townshend thinks nearly fourfold in forty years. But of this we cannot help expressing strong doubts; and even if true, we should be far from considering it as a favourable circumstance; for great

as the increase of the demand for labour has been, we can hardly suppose it such as to occupy so enormous an increase of hands; and that population which is raised by seizing a turf cabin and a potatoe ground from the waste, in defiance or through the neglect of the proprietor, is evidently the result of bad government, and must of necessity be checked as cultivation and society advance, in the manner so admirably pointed out by Lord Selkirk, in his work on emigration from the Highlands of Scotland. That this superabundant population exists in many of the least improved parts of Ireland we have no doubt, but that the account of its existence in the county of Cork is a little overcharged we cannot help suspecting from the circumstance, that even in the distant and least improved baronies the price of labour is high, p. (414.) A shilling a day with food, and eighteenpence without it, is about the average; and this may certainly be considered as high wages where the principal sustenance not only of the labourer, but even of farmers, of from fifty to one hundred pounds per annum, consists of potatoes and milk; in favour of which they have actually deserted their former food, which consisted, as in the northern counties of England and in Scotland, of oaten bread. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot help thinking, that the increase of population in the county of Cork is a little exaggerated, but that it consists, with few exceptions, of a sound, healthy, and well-employed people, subsisting certainly upon a cheap and easily-acquired food, but who are, nevertheless, on the very point of acquiring those more improved and artificial tastes which invariably spread among the lower ranks as society advances. In the neighbourhood of the towns they have indeed already acquired them. We find that in Cork, Kinsale; and their extensive neighbourhoods, and indeed throughout the county, the substitution of porter for ardent spirits has become very general; and we are much disposed to accede to the justice of the following observations of Mr. Townshend's in praise of this national beverage.

“The increasing use of porter was very apparent before the suppression of the distilleries, and it has experienced so rapid an augmentation since, that the apprehended injury to agriculture by the reduced price of barley seems to have been done away. There are, however, other considerations to be taken into the account. An exchange of sobriety for drunkenness, and an improvement in the health and morals of the people, are worth purchasing, even at a greater price than a little fall on barley and oats. The injury sustained by some respectable individuals, who had embarked a large capital in distilleries, is certainly to be regretted, but the unbiassed judgment of every friend to the general welfare will be disposed to

wish that spiritous liquors may never be cheaper than at present." (564, 5.)

The general introduction of the plough where the spade only was formerly in use, the increased attention to manure, particularly to lime, the adoption of a regular and systematic course of crops in districts where a short time ago the land was exhausted by repeated crops of white corn, and then suffered to lie a prey to weeds, till it was supposed to have recovered strength enough to bear a repetition of the same process of exhaustion; the increase in the size of farms and in the respectability of farm buildings; the great attention to the breed and selection of live stock; and above all the frequency of elegant and highly ornamented gentlemen's seats in the beautiful spots with which this county abounds, and which are inhabited by a resident gentry intent upon the improvement of their property, and interested of course in the tranquillity of the country, and in the moral improvement of the peasantry; all these afford an encouraging, and we have no doubt, in the main, a very correct account of the actual condition of the county of Cork.

We are happy also to record Mr. Townshend's opinion, that the present attention to the interests of the church on the part both of the government and the hierarchy is very commendable. Liberal encouragement has been given both to the erection of churches and glebe houses, by which the established clergy have been enabled to reside on their cures, and to be useful in their vocation. Not less than twenty-seven churches and seventeen glebe houses have been erected in the county within the last thirty years. Thinking, as we do, that the protestantizing of Ireland is the only mode by which the union of the two countries can ultimately be secured, we contemplate these exertions, in a county so full of Romanists as that of Cork, with peculiar pleasure, and we trust that it will be followed up by the erection of protestant schools upon the Madras system; for the parochial schools at present are "little more than nominal," except "several little schools with Roman catholic teachers, in which children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic." (P. 418.) We wish to say nothing harsh of the Romish religion, or of those who adhere to it; and certainly after their own open profession of their views* it is very far from unfair to ascribe to them the desire of rendering their religion the established religion of the country. This being once obtained, it would be a weakness past all belief in men of common sense to flatter themselves

* See besides the *Edinburgh Review* and various other publications, a pamphlet published by a Mr. M'Kenna in Dublin as early as the year 1803.

that the protestant religion, or the protestant titles to estates forfeited *principally upon account of religion*, would be suffered to endure. With whatever sincerity the moderate Romanists may disclaim such views in their actual situation, arguing upon the mass of them as men actuated by human passions and by sincere religious prejudices, it is perfectly ridiculous to suppose that any concessions short of those we have stated can make them cease to act with the zeal and consistency of a sect. This zeal must be opposed by those who feel that such concessions would be ruinous, not by concession but by counteraction.

But the relative means of the two churches in Ireland are by far too little known in England, and though our limits will not admit of entering into the detail, some faint idea may be conceived of it, when we know that every parish as well as every diocese has its appointed catholic minister constantly resident; active in his duties, devotedly obedient to his bishop, who in his turn is governed by an archbishop, who is equally devoted to the pope; while the protestant incumbent is in the majority of instances utterly unable or unwilling to reside upon his living; and is therefore chiefly known by the requisition of tythes, which, under such circumstances, can only be considered by the landholder as a grievous exaction. Is it in the nature of things then that the former should not look upon himself as the rightful incumbent, entitled to the profits as he performs almost all the duties of the office; or that the hierarchy presiding over such a clergy should not consider the episcopal honours and emoluments as justly their due? Nay, we will go further—speaking abstractedly from the political welfare of the country, and from the truth of the respective religions, are their arguments or expectations so ill founded in justice? The manner in which they are amalgamated with the population, and have insinuated themselves into every corner of the island places at the porch of every church a claimant indignant at his exclusion, and prepared to rush in with every tide of fortune. To us then who think that the fulfilment of their expectations would be fatal to the moral, religious, and political welfare of the empire, any thing like an improved system of counteraction on the part of the established church, by the adoption of such methods as can alone expect or deserve success, is interesting and exhilarating.

Such is the picture to which the county of Cork seems fast approaching to a resemblance—and we believe that it is the most advanced of those counties in Ireland where the catholics form the more numerous part of the population. But even here of course things are only in a *state of progress*;

rapid as the improvement has been, magic only could have operated a complete revolution in the short period during which Ireland has been governed upon enlightened principles. There is a reverse of the picture to be contemplated; a remnant of the old leaven, which predominates in many other catholic counties, and is still to be found in this promising region; Mr. Townshend has not disguised it from his readers. "At once to exhibit," he observes, "the most striking contrast between skill and ignorance, beauty and deformity, between lands in a high degree of elegant improvement, and lands in a state of slovenly and unskilful husbandry, is perhaps peculiar to Ireland." (P. 183.) Perhaps it might have been better said, "peculiar to a people in that precise point of the progress of society in which Ireland exists." The lower ranks are still in some places and on some occasions strongly addicted to whiskey-drinking and fighting, and the hero of the cudgel in Ireland stands as high in all blackguard estimation as the hero of the fist in England. We think it the less necessary, however, to enlarge upon this part of the subject, as we had the pleasure of laying before our readers a very faithful picture of the Irish peasantry, in our second number, when reviewing Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues.

It is Mr. Townshend's opinion that the peasantry of the Romish persuasion are not disposed to rebellion or disaffection to the government, unless excited by their superiors.

"Interest, he observes, is man's ruling principle, and collectively taken they seldom sacrifice a certain to a speculative good. Security and comfort are the utmost objects of the *people's* ambition, who, if they enjoy these, will not be very anxious to inquire from what description of governors and landlords they proceed. Under such circumstances, though rebellion may arise, it will never originate with the people. Artifice and inflammation may excite them to support it, but it will owe its birth to other causes than their discontent and disaffection. Even under Elizabeth, when their condition was so infinitely beneath what it is now, Spenser does them the justice to observe, that 'all the rebellions which we see from time to time happen in Ireland, are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captains of counties, upon pride and wilful obstinacy against government.' " (P. 92.)

Of the superior ranks in the county of Cork we have already extracted from the work before us some commendation; but we cannot in fairness omit a few strictures which apply probably more to the neighbouring counties than to Cork at the present moment. Adverting to practices scarcely yet exploded, he states that "every person calling himself a gentleman not only ex-

pected immediate obedience to his mandate, but often for the most trifling offence, and sometimes for no offence at all, inflicted manual punishment without the smallest apprehension of resistance on the part of the sufferer. The same mode of chastisement was frequently adopted by the priest, in addition to the more formidable correction of his spiritual authority. But these practices are falling into disuse, &c." (P. 91.)

There are, however, still inveterate habits among a great proportion of the gentry constantly resident in Ireland, the speedy correction of which is much more necessary than probable. "In the third order of our gentry there is still much to be reformed. The possessor of a little independent income commonly considers himself qualified to set up for a country squire, in which capacity he apes the worst part of the example of his betters. Sporting becomes to him a business, for which all useful pursuits are neglected; he seems to think that he is rising in respect in proportion as he recedes from utility." The sons are usually bred up after the example of their father: the eldest succeeds to the small patrimony which the vices of each possessor are constantly diminishing; and the younger children become an useless and noxious excrescence on the body politic; the instruments of turbulence, and often of rebellion.

We have reason to believe also, that among the higher ranks of the gentry, selfishness and the spirit of party are in many cases so predominant, that the welfare of society and the good government of the country are entirely lost sight of. A party-man is necessarily supported by his partizans, even though his conduct is diametrically opposite to every principle of honour, or even of common honesty. The necessity of mutual association for mutual defence, where party violence endangers personal security, renders this in some sort necessary; and we wish to submit the fact to those among the highest ranks, who for the purposes of private ambition keep alive those animosities of party which so directly, though not perhaps at first sight so obviously, tend to check the amelioration of the country.

The presentations of grand juries, and the sums ordered in consequence for the public improvements of a county, are a fertile source of party jobbing. The improvement is scarcely ever executed, and by the combination of two or three magistrates in the district where it is ordered, the money raised upon the county rests in the pocket of one of them, who is prepared in his turn to join in a similar accommodation to his neighbour. These practices alone speak volumes respecting the state of the country, and, joined to what we have stated in the course of this article, point very clearly to the objects yet necessary to

complete the *real emancipation* of Ireland—they are a general increase of *public principle* among the higher orders, and of *industry and intelligence* among the lower. The three conditions are, we believe, inseparable in politics. The attainment of one will, therefore, gradually induce the others; but the absolute necessity of the rapid improvement of Ireland should stimulate its statesmen and proprietors to the simultaneous encouragement of them all.

By the earnest appeals which we so frequently make to our countrymen in behalf of public principle, and a disinterested and patriotic use of their talents and influence in society, we are not vain enough to hope that we shall be able to stem the torrent of selfishness and corruption. But the more we see and reflect upon the nature of the present times, the more convinced are we, that in the very unequal contest in which we are engaged, nothing but the zealous and devoted application of every serviceable faculty and talent to the public good, and the sacrifice of our individual self to the interests of our social self, can save the Empire. This is emphatically true of that part of it to which this article particularly relates. However hopeless, therefore, of complete success, we shall never cease from calling upon all ranks, and upon the “great men” especially of both countries, to keep these truths always before them, and to be disinterested in politics, if not for their country’s sake, at least for their own.—For no one can dispute that now, at least, is the time arrived, when the best understood selfishness may be said to consist in the total abandonment of self in the cause of the public.

With respect to the party measure miscalled emancipation, is it to be supposed, as Mr. Townshend well observes, that “the admissibility of a few now disqualified persons to seats in parliament, and some offices of public trust and dignity (which is in reality all that remains of catholic emancipation), will make a single tradesman drink less or behave better? Will it make an idle gentry better farmers and worse sportsmen? Will it remove a dirt-hole from a farmer’s door, exchange a bad plough for a good one, or put a single pane of glass into his window? Will it enlighten his mind, enlarge his scanty stock of ideas, diminish his bigotry, or remove his prejudices? The answer is obvious to the meanest capacity, and shows that the remedy of those evils must be sought elsewhere.” (P. 723.) The remedy must be sought in the encouragement of industry and education among all ranks, in a strict and regular administration of justice, in raising, if possible, the *civil* character of the Romanist, in perfect impartiality to the several

parties in the state so long as they all obey the laws, and above all in convincing them that those laws are unalterably fixed on the public policy of the empire, and that it is treason to the state to attempt to alter their foundations. This one conviction, by converting the ardor which now evaporates in party squabbles to the amelioration of each man's condition in life, would do more to settle men's minds and to attach them to the English connection, than any plan of concession; which, unless it be resolved entirely to reverse the present order of things, can only perpetuate discord;—and if such reversal do take place, must inevitably end in separation. The mass of the Romanists are only agitated by the arts of their leaders, and in the present instance we believe that those leaders have been set in motion from this side of the water for very obvious and unjustifiable purposes, and in the expectation (which we trust will prove a vain one) of producing a false impression in a high quarter, altogether inconsistent with a continuance of the present system of government.

Among the means of the improvement of Ireland, we must not omit noticing the patriotic society to which we owe the volume we are reviewing. The Dublin Society, with a perseverance equally spirited and laudable, unceasingly labour in the great objects of improving the manners of the middle gentry;—introducing sobriety, prudence, and decorum among dissipated, drunken, and turbulent tradesmen;—stimulating the activity, advancing the skill, enlightening the minds, and increasing the comforts of the slovenly rustics;—promoting employment for an increasing population by the advancement of agriculture—by new manufactories, or the improvement of those which exist. These are truly Irish objects, and will in time raise “that fertile island high in the scale of great and happy nations;” and grateful should the nation be to that body of men who adopt these methods of cure for the existing evils.

We shall close this article with the few following observations. Let the Irish government always keep in mind the trite maxim, that honesty is the best policy: if they dare be honest, they will at length have the country at their feet. The union has put an end to the tyranny which the great families were in the habit of exercising over the government: and *union-promises* are now probably all fulfilled or forgotten. The government, therefore, is at length enabled to resist unreasonable demands without hazarding its existence. Let it use its liberty for the benefit of the country. The true friends of Ireland expect that *all appointments*, particularly those to bishopricks, and to high stations in the law, will not be upon the old footing; that merit

will be attended to; and that the disgraceful advancement to the government of the church of dissipated young men of rank, or of worthy but inefficient ministers; and to the high posts of the law, of political adventurers, or their relatives and dependents, will no longer take place. The fountains of truth and of justice must cease to be polluted, or the stream of society can never run pure. Liberal encouragement to the commerce and manufactures of Ireland is also indispensable. If England, by depriving itself of five shillings, can enable Ireland to gain half a crown by industry, it would be good economy to conclude the bargain. For the ultimate effect on the people of Ireland would save to the empire more expence than the first loss; to say nothing of the danger it would avert, and of the national strength which it would consolidate. We are happy to have Mr. Townshend's authority for asserting, that "industry is every where advancing; civilization in most places, and knowledge in a few. But much, very much yet remains to be attained:" and probably a very short period of tranquillity yet remains in which to obtain it. Let it not then be thrown away! There is no country where the character of the people is more fitted by nature for the highest attainment in moral, political, and intellectual excellence. The bountiful hand of the Almighty has afforded ample materials, however they may have hitherto been perverted and abused. It must be the care of the legislature now to form and fashion them; and until it has fully succeeded, we can only address it in the warning voice of the poet:

" Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."

After what has been written in the preceding pages, it is almost superfluous to add, that both the publications, of which we have been giving a very brief and imperfect sketch, are full of interesting and entertaining matter; and that we strenuously recommend them to the attention of the public, and particularly of the statesmen and politicians of the United Empire.

ART. XII. *Bibliomania; or Book-madness. A Bibliographical Romance in six Parts; illustrated with Cuts.* By the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. London: Longman, Hurst, and Co. 1811. 8vo. pp. 792.

THE particular acquaintance with books, which Mr. Dibdin calls *bibliography*, is a taste now so widely spread in good society, that a gentleman with any pretensions to literature can hardly afford to be entirely ignorant of it. But as even a superficial acquaintance with the science was heretofore only to be acquired by the expensive process of purchasing scarce volumes, or the tiresome one of attending the auction rooms where they are sold, we cannot but feel disposed to look upon Mr. Dibdin's efforts with some degree of complacency; inasmuch as he has compressed into his 790 pages a sufficient quantity of information concerning the several branches of the science, to enable a gentleman, by moderate diligence, to qualify himself for making a very respectable figure in the society even of professed book-collectors.

We must observe, nevertheless, that in times like these we are very far from insisting on the importance or the laudable nature of the present pursuits of book-collectors; on the contrary, we cannot but think them very remotely, if at all, advantageous to those sciences which have a tendency to improve the moral force, or to add to the physical strength of our country. They rather appear to us to be a luxuriant excrescence on the literary body; never to be positively encouraged, and only to be tolerated in the piping times of peace and overflowing wealth, to operate as a diversion of its peccant humours. The increasing prevalence of these pursuits, however, seems to demand some notice from those who undertake to let nothing pass without investigation which is connected with the state of morals and literature. We shall therefore first say something of the study or science itself, and shall then enter into a brief description of the work before us.

First, then, whatever pains the ingenious author of this "*Bibliographical Romance*" may have taken to convince us of the contrary, we really do think, that a mere knowledge of what books are useful, curious, and rare—and this we take to be modern "*Bibliography*"—is a knowledge of a very limited and unenviable nature. It goes a very little way to enlarge the dominion, or increase the fruits, of the human intellect. It is giving the husk instead of the grain, as intellectual food—nor can an inquisitive mind be satisfied with such a substitute.

"Bibliography," as it is now generally pursued, is little more than a mere knowledge of the fringe and drapery of a book. But if it go not beyond this, it goes no useful length. If it excite no other sentiment but that of cold and distant admiration, or a sort of platonic love, never aspiring to fruition, it is a curiosity at once stupid and irregular; and its effect can never extend to impregnate the understanding, or people the imagination with ideas. To be useful, bibliography must teach us to read what is *valuable*, not what is *rare*; to make a love of books instrumental to a love of knowledge; to examine, as well as to open, volumes; and to apply our knowledge of what other ages have written and done towards the improvement of that in which we live. If it lead to this; if too, in such a pursuit it enliven the slothful, and stimulate the ingenious—if it conduct to generous and patriotic ends, then we have no objection to join our assent to the eulogies of Mr. Dibdin. Yet we must confess that our own personal observation gives us too much reason to suspect, that only a very superficial education, provided its deficiency be supplied by a heavy purse, is requisite to qualify our modern book-collectors; who for the most part trouble themselves only about the date and condition, and entirely disregard the intrinsic character, of the works which they make such unreasonable sacrifices to possess.

If we could now see that passionate and unwearied attachment towards the discovery of useful knowledge which characterised the efforts of the Woods, Nicolson, Maittaire, Tanners, and Oldyses of former times, we might then augur well of a study that is now so generally and so enthusiastically pursued. If we could discover a tendency towards those scholastic attainments which distinguished some of the foregoing characters, and particularly the greater part of those foreign philosophers whom Mr. Dibdin has so carefully enrolled in his notes to the chapter which he calls "*The Cabinet*," we should then "hope great things" respecting the result of this new and attracting study. But, judging from the symptoms which have yet occurred, we must be allowed to doubt, if not despair, respecting the re-appearance of such men as Lambecius, Baillet, and Le Long. We have mentioned Oldys, not because he stands exactly in the list of the above-mentioned authors, but because his researches were in general *well directed*, and his inaccuracies of style greatly overbalanced by the utility derived from his labours.

This train of reasoning brings us very naturally to state our opinions respecting the *modern English school of bibliography*; for having delivered our sentiments upon the subject in general,

it behoves us to declare (though, as we beg leave to protest, not with the precision and learning of professed bibliographers) our sentiments upon those works which have given a bias to our conclusions.

These works are all carefully chronicled by the author before us; but rather, we think, with the formality of a tradesman in making out his bills of parcels, than with the freedom and spirit of a literary judge.

First, then, after a long and dreary slumber of more than half a century from the publication of the *British Librarian* of Oldys, appeared the *Censura Literaria*, with the names of two ostensible editors, of whom it is difficult to say which has been the most fortunate in his labours: the former dealing in light, airy, and speculative lucubrations; the latter persevering with steady resolution through every fragment which happens to be a fifteenner*, although to chance and the grocer's forbearance it may have owed its very existence: unless perhaps the safety in which it has lived until the prurient sapience of modern bibliographers has brought it into the light, may be better ascribed to the same cause to which La Bruyere attributes the chastity of a certain order of females: *qui ne sont en sureté que parsqu'on ne les cherchent pas*.

Of the *Censura Literaria* itself, our opinions may be pretty nearly gathered. We do not think it will ever be resorted to by the general reader for amusement or useful instruction, however dear it may be to the bibliographer, from the number of rare, obscure, and extraordinary works which are noticed in it.

Out of the ashes of this work, in ten volumes, the *British Bibliographer* arose. Although the offspring bears a strong resemblance to its parent, it has, upon the whole, a more promising aspect. Our author has lent a helping hand to it, but we think that his labours have been here misplaced. The analysis of Hearne's pieces would have had a more graceful effect in a Life of Hearne, or prefixed to the forthcoming re-impression of his works. The name of a very respectable knight of St. Joachim appears as the editor of this work; but we think a little out of order: and that a plea in abatement, upon the ground of *misnomer*, might be entered against him. The principal features discoverable in the *British Bibliographer* are, a minute and painful dissection of the pieces of George Withers—(in which the patience of the anatomist is more praiseworthy than the specimens exhibited)—an analysis of some old romances—and

* A cant phrase for a book printed in the sixteenth century, having 15 as the first two figures of the date.

abundance of miscellaneous information by I. H.: who, as usual, bears the brunt of the battle. We will not quarrel with the performance of these artists; but only hope, for the comfort of the publisher, that there may be found two hundred and fifty readers (this being the limited number of copies printed) capable of relishing the beauties of their communications.

While these works were going on appeared *The Anecdotes of Literature and scarce Books*, by the Rev. William Beloe. The preface to the first volume seems to disarm criticism. Under cover of large letters, widely distant sentences, great names, and a sounding style, the author marches forward in the panoply of self-assurance, and sometimes treats his fellow-labourers with reluctant civility. His first two volumes are acknowledged even indirectly by himself, (see vol. iii. p. 6.) to be sufficiently erroneous: and it comes with little grace from one who, if we mistake not, is a reviewer by trade, to talk of the asperity with which he has been treated, and the cruelty with which his "errors of omission and commission" have been exposed. We understand a fifth volume is *in progress*, if not already published; accompanied, we sincerely hope—for his own reputation, and the comfort and convenience of his readers—by a copious and well-digested index. Mr. Beloe must forgive us, if, in his four preceding volumes, we lament the absence of lucid order, and interesting materials. We are carried into so many, and such discordant apartments, and see the furniture around so cumbrous and misplaced, that we begin to be wearied, and wish for a more humble and commodious residence. It would appear too, that a right reverend, learned, and truly respectable bishop had had the carving or turning of almost every piece of furniture which is "put out." Now this, to say the least of it, is making very free with the episcopal bench; an error, of which we should suspect Mr. Beloe the last man upon earth to be guilty.

We are the more surprised at the glaring deficiencies of these volumes, as Mr. Beloe has shewn us, in his *Translations of Herodotus and Aulus Gellius*, that he possesses both taste and scholarship; we only wish him to be consistent with himself; and we fear that it is not from these "*Tentamina Bibliographica*," that Mr. Beloe's literary reputation is likely to gather strength.

We are now getting towards the close of our *Catalogue Raisonné*. The *British Librarian* by James Savage, is, we think, about the most useful performance of its kind. It is properly noticed by Mr. Dibdin (pp. 69—626); and if the future conductor of it would dispense with that greatest of modern evils, note-making, (we request Mr. Dibdin's forgiveness) he might

prove himself not an unworthy continuator of Oldys. All that such a work requires is perspicuity, with a moderate share of judgement and taste in the selection and description of materials. And it may then enable us to judge whether we have given thirty guineas for a perfect or imperfect copy of *Chauncy's Hertfordshire*, or sixteen for *Bentham's Ety.* To spend large sums upon imperfect volumes must be the 'malum maximum' of collectors.

We have not yet quite done; for we happen to remember a periodical work entitled *The Director*, to which Mr. Dibdin contributed one half of the materials, and of which half two-thirds are devoted to what he calls '*Bibliographiana*.' This paper, if we remember rightly, was to form the breakfast amusement of ladies and gentlemen of fashion; but how they could relish dry analyses of book-catalogues, and biographical sketches of old-fashioned book collectors, was a point which neither Mr. Dibdin nor his coadjutors appear to us to have considered. The result might easily have been anticipated. The paper struggled through six feverish months, and then breathed out its hectic existence. Neither the wit of a baronet, nor the taste of a distinguished virtuoso, nor the classical aid of a fellow bibliographer, nor even the amulets of Dr. Drake and a friendly reviewer, could preserve its precious life.

It may be expected that we should here notice our author's chief labours, entitled *An Introduction to the Knowledge of rare and valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, and his new edition of *The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain*; works, we believe, of considerable merit in their way.

It is therefore by no means as a virgin candidate that Mr. Dibdin now appears before us. We are promised in the preface "as much amusement and instruction as ever were offered in a single volume of a nature like to the present;" a broad, and we may add, rather a bold declaration. We shall soon see whether it be well or ill supported.

The *Bibliographical Romance* is divided into six parts, designated after the following manner. 1st. *The Evening Walk*. 2d. *The Cabinet*. 3d. *The Auction Room*. 4th. *The Library*. 5th. *The Drawing Room*. 6th. *The Alcove*. Each part consists of a conversation carried on in the place whose name it bears, but without any local peculiarities in the train of the thoughts to suggest or account for this frequent shifting of the scene. We were forcibly put in mind of a morsel of nursery poetry which remains strongly impressed upon our memory, and which begins with these notable words, "Goosey Goosey Gander, where shall I wander, up stairs, down stairs, in my lady's cham-

ber.* The several conversations, as they take no colour from the place, were capable of being divided into as many chapters or heads, in this mode of arrangement, as there are apartments and closets in a well ordered mansion from the garret to the cellar.

The conversations are carried on between some ladies and gentlemen who meet together at the house of Lorenzo, and who there, through the mouth of Lysander (whom we take to be the representative of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin), are made acquainted with the history of the most eminent lovers and collectors of books from the time of Alfred to the present day. Such is the foundation upon which Mr. Dibdin has placed a great body of information, illustrated by a still more copious appendage of notes replete with anecdotes of scarce books and their authors. The chronological index exhibits these characters at almost the first glance.

The Romance opens with the author's walking into the fields on "a fine autumnal evening," and being interrupted in his meditations by the arrival of a messenger, who informs him that his college friends Lysander and Philemon are come to pay him a visit for a few days. They are, of course, made welcome; and stroll till supper-time in the author's garden; where they converse by the light of the moon. The characters of Warton and Ritson are, we think, pretty well delineated in this garden dialogue. Supper-time arrives, when these college friends "with sharpened appetites" sit down to their repast. After filling their stomachs with the fare which is placed before them, they proceed, like saucy well-fed fellows, to fall foul upon us poor reviewers; nor can we withhold a specimen of Lysander's invectives against us:

"I will notice only one other, and a very great failing observable in literary men: and this is, severity and self-consequence. You will find that these severe characters generally set up the trade of critics: without attending to the just maxim of Pope, that

Ten censure wrong, for one that writes amiss.

With them, the least deviation from precise correctness; the most venial trippings; the smallest inattention paid to doubtful rules and equivocal positions of criticism, inflames their anger, and calls forth their invectives. Regardless of the sage maxims of Cicero, Quintilian, and Horace, they not only disdain the sober rules which their ancient brethren have wisely laid down, and hold in contempt the voice of the public, but, forgetting the subject which they have undertaken to criticise, they push the author out of his seat, quietly

sit in it themselves, and fancy they entertain you by the gravity of their deportment, and their rash usurpation of the royal monosyllable 'Nos.' This solemn pronoun, or rather 'plural style,' my dear Philemon, is oftentimes usurped by a half-starved little I, who sits immured in the dusty recess of a garret, and who has never known the society or the language of a gentleman: or it is assumed by a young graduate, just settled in his chambers, and flushed with the triumph of his degree of 'B. A.': whose 'fond conceyte' [to borrow Master Francis Thynne's terse style,] 'is, to wrangle for an asses shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rushe!'

"For my part," continued Lysander, speaking with the most unaffected seriousness—"for my part, nothing delights me more than modesty and diffidence, united with strong good sense, lively imagination, and exquisite sensibility, whether in an author or a critic. When I call to mind that our greatest sages have concluded their labours with doubt, and an avowal of their ignorance; when I see how carefully and reverently they have pushed forward their most successful inquiries; when I see the great Newton pausing and perplexed in the vast world of planets, comets, and constellations, which were, in a measure, of his own creation—I learn to soften the asperity of my critical anathemas, and to allow to an author that portion of fallibility, of which I am conscious myself." 'I see then,' rejoined Philemon, 'that you are an enemy to *Reviews*.' 'Far from it,' replied Lysander, 'I think them of essential service to literature. They hold a lash over ignorance and vanity; and, at any rate, they take care to bestow a hearty castigation upon vicious and sensual publications.' "

It was said, we believe, by the late Richard Cumberland, that he was *thick-skinned*; and cared not for the shafts which were drawn from the critical quiver. Mr. Dibdin appears to us to be very susceptible of that thrilling smart, which reviews, in spite of Lysander's philippic, will, we fear, still continue to inflict. We refer the reader to pp. 291, 736, where our author shoots a porcupine quill or two at some of our brother reviewers. Leaving our brethren to defend themselves, we must say that the foregoing passage has no sort of effect whatever upon our nerves or consciences. We shall leave our defence in our reader's hands, and trusting that we have always kept the company and spoken the language of gentlemen, we will frankly declare that we have no objections to the sentiments of Lysander as to what constitutes good criticism.

The second part opens thus:

"Tout autour oiseau!x voloient
Et si tres-doucement chantoient,
Qu'il n'est, cueur qui n'en fust ioyeux.

Et en chantant en l'air montoient
 Et puis l'un l'autre surmontoient
 A l'estrieue à qui mieulx mieulx.
 Le temps n'estoit mie mieulx.
 De bleu estoient vestuz les cieux,
 Et le beau Soleil cler luisoit,
 Violettes croissoient par lieux
 Et tout faiseit ses deuoirs tieux
 Comme nature le duisoit.

Oeuvres de Chartier, Paris, 1617, 4to, p. 594.

"Such is the lively description of a spring morning, in the opening of Alain Chartier's '*Livre des quatre dames*;' and, with the exception of the violets, such description conveyed a pretty accurate idea of the scenery which presented itself, from the cabinet window, to the eyes of Lysander and Philemon.

"PHIL. How delightful, my dear friend; are the objects which we have before our eyes, within and without doors. The freshness of the morning air, of which we have just been partaking in yonder field, was hardly more reviving to my senses, than is the sight of this exquisite cabinet of bibliographical works, adorned with small busts and whole-length figures from the antique! You see these precious books are bound chiefly in Morocco, or Russia leather; and the greater part of them appear to be printed upon *large paper*.

"LYSAND. Our friend makes these books a sort of hobby-horse, and perhaps indulges his vanity in them to excess. They are undoubtedly useful in their way.

"PHIL. You are averse then to the study of bibliography?

"LYSAND. By no means. I have already told you of my passion for books, and cannot, therefore, dislike bibliography. I think, with Lambinet, that 'the greater part of *bibliographical works are sufficiently dry and superfluous*;' but I am not insensible to the utility, and even entertainment, which may result from a proper cultivation of it—although both De Bure and Peignot appear to me to have gone greatly beyond the mark, in lauding this study as 'one of the most attractive and vast pursuits in which the human mind can be engaged †.'

"PHIL. But to know what books are valuable and what are worthless; their intrinsic and extrinsic merits; their rarity, beauty, and particularities of various kinds: and the estimation in which they are consequently held by knowing men—these things add a zest to the

* *Recherches, &c. sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*: Introd. p. x. Lambinet adds very justly: 'L'art consiste à les rendre supportables par des objets variés de littérature, de critique, d'anecdotes, &c.'

† See the '*Discours sur la Science Bibliographique*,' &c. in the eighth volume of De Bure's *Bibl. Instruit.* and Peignot's *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliologie*, vol. i. p. 50. The passage, in the former authority, beginning '*Sans cesse*'—p. xvj.—would almost warm the benumbed heart of a thorough-bred mathematician, and induce him to exchange his Euclid for De Bure!!

gratification we feel in even looking upon and handling certain volumes.

"LYSAND. It is true, my good Philemon; because knowledge upon any subject, however trivial, is more gratifying than total ignorance; and even if we could cut and string cherry-stones, like Cowper's rustic boy, it would be better than brushing them aside, without knowing that they could be converted to such a purpose. Hence I am always pleased with Le Long's reply to the caustic question of Father Malebranche, when the latter asked him, 'how he could be so foolish as to take such pains about settling the date of a book, or making himself master of trivial points of philosophy.'—'Truth is so delightful,' replied Le Long, 'even in the most trivial matters, that we must neglect nothing to discover her.' This reply, to a man who was writing, or had written, an essay upon truth, was admirable. Mons. A. G. Camus, a good scholar, and an elegant bibliographer, [of whom you will see some account in '*Les siècles littéraires de la France*,'] has, I think, placed the study of bibliography in a just point of view; and to his observations, in the first volume of the '*Memoires de l'Institut National*,' I must refer you."

The visit of Lisardo, an eccentric and good humoured character, interrupts the gravity of these gentlemen's conversation. He immediately commences a furious attack upon bibliography; but our author, who is resolved to consider as heretical any person who presumes to question the importance of his beloved science, contrives in the end to make Lisardo a staunch convert; and the second part, which commences with his denunciations against bibliography, concludes thus:

"LIS. Never fear. *Bibliomania* is, of all species of insanity, the most rational and praise-worthy. I here solemnly renounce my former opinions, and wish my errors to be forgotten. I here crave pardon of the disturbed manes of the Martins, De Bures, and Pater-sons, for that flagitious act of *Catalogue-Burning*; and fondly hope that the unsuspecting age of boyhood will atone for so rash a deed. Do you frankly forgive me—and will you henceforth consider me as a worthy '*Aspirant*' in the noble cause of bibliography?"

"LYSAND. Most cordially do I forgive you; and freely admit you into the fraternity of bibliomaniacs. Philemon, I trust, will be equally merciful.

"PHIL. Assuredly, Lisardo, you have my entire forgiveness: and I exult a little in the hope that you will prove yourself to be a sincere convert to the cause, by losing no opportunity of enriching your bibliographical stores. Already I see you mounted, as a book-chevalier, and hurrying from the country to London—from London again to the country—seeking adventures in which your prowess may be displayed—and yielding to no competitor who brandishes a lance of equal weight with your own!

"LIS. 'Tis well. At to-morrow's dawn my esquire shall begin

Dibdin's Bibliomania.

to barnish up my armor—and caparison my courser. Till then adieu!

“Here the conversation, *in a connected form*, ceased; and it was resolved that Philemon and myself should accompany Lisardo on the morrow.”

Having given in these extracts a tolerably fair specimen of the *dialogues* which constitute what Mr. Dibdin calls the body of his work, our readers will probably not be sorry to know that we shall now take our leave of them, except in as far as some passages may tend to illustrate the learning contained in the notes. Our author himself states in his preface (p. 7.) that “the gentlemen by whom the drama is conducted are merely wooden machines or PEGS to hang notes upon, and that he shall not be disposed to quarrel with any criticism that may be passed upon their acting; so long as the greater part of the information to which their dialogue gives rise may be thought serviceable to the real interests of literature and bibliography.” We shall put the sincerity of this declaration to the test, by declaring our regret that Mr. Dibdin has constructed his pegs of so enormous a size, and placed them so much out of the reach of ordinary patience. The general style and sentiment of the dialogues never rise above mediocrity, and often sink much below it; there is a great deal of very sad and inexcusable puerility, about “fantastic and fugitive pieces of furniture purchased at Mr. Oakley’s;” about being “electrified with a delicious breeze, wafted over a bed of migniouette in the most agreeable manner imaginable;” about “nightcaps tassel and all,” and “formal attacks upon muffins, cake, coffee, tea, eggs, and cold tongue;” and “spicy fragrance from surrounding parterres and jessamine bowers.” We need not observe that all this, and much more, is infinitely below the dignity of any printed book that pretends to any rank in a library, and in truth, gives one but a very unfavourable idea of the effects produced by bibliographical pursuits upon the clerical mind. We should not have tolerated it in Miss Anna Seward, much less can it be endured as allowable materials even for the manufacture of *pegs* by any reverend author. We shall therefore trespass no longer on the patience of our readers, than merely to point out the several compartments in which the different heads of information are suspended on the said pegs, and shall extract an entertaining passage or two from the real body of the work, that is to say the NOTES.

“The Cabinet” contains much curious and interesting matter relating to foreign bibliography; nearly forty pages are devoted

to one note on foreign private and public catalogues, and English public collections alphabetically arranged, preceded by a copious critical detail of the publications of foreign bibliographers, from Courtingius to the modern school, interspersed occasionally with lively and interesting anecdotes.

"The Auction Room" is chiefly devoted to a description of the principal book-collectors or bibliomaniacs who attend book-sales, especially at Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby's in the Strand; much information, curious we make no doubt to connoisseurs, is inserted in the notes concerning the prices of old books, and the comparative beauty of ancient and modern bookbinding.

"A Prymare for a Chyllde, octavo, Englis," might be had in 1554 for four-pence, and "Halle's Croneckelle nova Englis" for twelve shillings. At p. 160, 1, 2. of this "part" the character of the Rev. Dr. Isaac Gosset is given at length. Our author then favours us with his own character. But the hero of the auction room is Atticus, alias Richard Heber, Esq. a gentleman who is (as we are credibly informed) well calculated by learning, taste, and talents to be the hero among nobler compeers than can be found in the pandemonium of Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby's auction room. Since, however, he does condescend to become their hero, we will extract the following passage concerning the mode in which he sustains the character, although we cannot help doubting whether the hero will be very proud of the celebration which Mr. Dibdin has bestowed upon him.

"Here, in this ancestral abode, Atticus can happily exchange the microscopic investigation of books, for the charms and manly exercises of a rural life: eclipsing, in this particular, the celebrity of Cæsar Antoninus; who had not universality of talent sufficient to unite the love of hawking and hunting with the passion for book collecting*. The sky is no sooner dappled o'er with the first morning sun-beams, than up starts our distinguished bibliomaniac, either to shoot or to hunt: either to realize all the fine things which Pope has written about 'lifting the tube, and levelling the eye †;' or to join the jolly troop while they chant the hunting song of his poetical friend ‡. Meanwhile, his house is not wanting in

* This anecdote is given on the authority of Gesner's *Pandects*, fol. 29: rect. 'Αλλοι μὲν ἱσταν, [says the grave Antoninus:] ἄλλοι δὲ ἰρνισιν, ἄλλοι δὲ πύλοις ἱστανται: ἱμοὶ δὲ βιβλίων κτήσιος, ἢ παιδείας διανοῶν ἐνταυτα πᾶσιος.'

† See Pope's *Windsor Forest*, vol. 110 to 134.

‡ Waken birds and ladies gay;

On the mountain dawns the day.

All the jolly chase is here,

With hawk and horse and hunting spear;

Hounds are in their couples yelling,

Hawks are whistling, horns are knelling;

need a garniture to render a country residence most congenial. His cellars below vie with his library above. Besides 'the brown October'—'drawn from his dark retreat of thirty years'—and the potent comforts of every species of 'barley broth,—there are the ruddier and more sparkling juices of the grape—'fresh of color, and of look lovely, smiling to the eyes of many'—as Master Laneham hath it in his celebrated letter *. I shall leave you to finish the picture, which such a sketch may suggest, by referring you to your favorite, Thomson †. "....." Yet Atticus doth sometimes sadly err. He has now and then an ungovernable passion to possess more copies of a book than there were ever parties to a deed, or stamina to a plant: and therefore I cannot call him a duplicate or triplicate collector. His best friends scold—his most respectable rivals censure—and a whole 'mob of gentlemen,' who think to collect 'with ease,' threaten vengeance against—him, for this despotic spirit which he evinces; and which, I fear, nothing can stay or modify, but an act of parliament that no gentleman shall purchase more than two copies of a work; one for his town, the other for his country, residence.

"PHIL. But does he atone for this sad error by being liberal in the loan of his volumes?

"Most completely so, Philemon. This is the 'pars melior' of every book-collector, and it is indeed the better part with Atticus. The learned and curious, whether rich or poor, have always free access to his library—

His volumes, open as his heart,
Delight, amusement, science, art,
To every ear and eye impart.

His books, therefore, are not a stagnant reservoir of unprofitable water, as are those of Pontevallo's; but like a thousand rills, which run down from the lake on Snowdon's summit, after a plentiful fall of rain, they serve to fertilize and adorn every thing to which they extend. In consequence, he sees himself reflected in a thou-

Merrily, merrily, mingle they,
" Waken lords and ladies gay."

Waken lords and ladies gay,
The mist has left the mountain grey.
Springlets in the dawn are steaming,
Diamonds on the lake are gleaming;
And foresters have busy been,
To track the buck in thicket green;
Now we come to chaunt our lay,
" Waken lords and ladies gay."

HUNTING SONG, by Mr. Walter Scott: the remaining stanzas will be found in the *Edinb. Annual Register*, vol. i. pt. ii. xxviii.

* "Wherein part of the Entertainment unto the Queens Majesty at Killingworth Cuilt in Warwick Shier, &c. 1575, is signified." edit. 1784, p. 14.

† *Autumn*, v. 519, 701, &c.

sand mirrors; and has a right to be vain of the numerous dedications to him, and of the richly ornamented robes in which he is attired by his grateful friends."

The fourth part, called "The Library," is full of curious bibliographical learning. The history of Bibliomania is formally taken up by Lysander, beginning with the druids and descending to the death of Henry VII. There is much curious information to be found among the Saxon and Danish annals; from this "part" we shall extract two notes, one relating to Johannes Scotus Erigena, who was patronized by Charles the Bald, the other to a famous feast given by Nevell, archbishop of York, in the reign of Edward IV. at his "enthronization" in the archiepiscopal see, &c.

"Scot's celebrated reply to his patron and admirer, Charles the Bald, was first made a popular story, I believe, among the 'wise speeches' in *Camden's Remaines*, where it is thus told: 'Johannes Erigena, surnamed Scotus, a man renowned for learning, sitting at the table, in respect of his learning, with Charles the Bauld, emperor and king of France, behaved himselfe as a slovenly scholler, nothing courtly; whereupon the emperour asked him merrily 'Quid interest inter Scotum et Sotum?' (what is there between a Scot and a sot?) He merrily, but yet malapertly answered, 'Mensa'—(the table): as though the emperor were the sot and he the Scot.' p. 236. *Roger Hoveden* is quoted as the authority; but one would like to know where Hoveden got his information, if Scotus has not mentioned the anecdote in his own works? Since Camden's time, this facetious story has been told by almost every historian and analyst.

{ "*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. 3, 616: as referred to and quoted by Dr. Henry; whose account of our book-champion, although less valuable than Mackenzie's, is exceedingly interesting.)

"He endeavors to prove, in his logical way, that the torments of the damned are meer privations of the happiness, or the trouble of being deprived of it; so that, according to him, material fire is no part of the torments of the damned; that there is no other fire prepared for them but the fourth element, through which the bodies of all men must pass; but that the bodies of the elect are changed into an ætherial nature, and are not subject to the power of fire: whereas, on the contrary, the bodies of the wicked are changed into air, and suffer torments by the fire, because of their contrary qualities. And for this reason 'tis, that the demons, who had a body of an ætherial nature, were massed with a body of air, that they might feel the fire.' *Mackenzie's Scottish Writers*: vol. i. 49. All this may be ingenious enough: of its truth, a future state only will be the evidence.

"Very different from that of Scotus, is the language of Gregory Nazienzen: 'Exit in inferno frigus insuperabile: ignis inextingui-

his: vermis immortalis: fetoꝛ intollerabilis: tenebræ palpabiles: flagella cedencium: horrenda visio demonum: desperatio omnium bonorum. This I gather from the *Speculum Christiani*, fol. 37, printed by Machlinia, in the 15th century. The idea is enlarged, and the picture aggravated, in a great number of nearly contemporaneous publications, which will be noticed, in part, hereafter.

"It is reported that some sermons are about to be published, in which the personality of Satan is questioned and denied. Thus, having, by the ingenuity of Scotus, got rid of the fire 'which is never quenched'—and by means of modern scepticism, of the devil, who is constantly 'seeking whom he may devour,' we may go on comfortably enough, without such awkward checks, in the commission of every species of folly and crime!"

"Lysander is perfectly correct about the feast which was given at the archbishop's inthronization; as the particulars of it—'out of an old paper roll in the archives of the Bodleian library,' are given by Hearne in the sixth volume of *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 1—14: and a most extraordinary and amusing bill of fare it is. The last twenty dinners given by the lord mayors at Guildhall, upon the first day of their mayoralties, were only *sandwiches*—compared with such a repast! What does the reader think of 2000 chickens, 4000 pigeons, 4000 coneys, 500 'and mo,' stags, bucks, and roes, with 4000 'pasties of venison colde?'—and these barely an 18th part of the kind of meats served up!! At the high table our amiable Earl of Worcester was seated, with the archbishop, three bishops, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Oxford. The fictitious archiepiscopal feast, was the one intended to be given by Nevell to Edward IV; when the latter 'appointed a day to come to hunt in More in Hertfordshire, and make merry with him.' Nevell made magnificent preparations for the royal visit; but instead of receiving the monarch as a guest, he was saluted by some of his officers, who 'arrested him for treason,' and imprisoned him at Calais and Guisnes. The cause of this sudden and apparently monstrous conduct, on the part of Edward, has not been told by Stow (*Chronicles*, p. 426; edit. 1615) nor by Godwyn (*Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, p. 481, edit. 1601); both of whom relate the fact with singular naiveté.

"I have a strong suspicion that Nevell was so far a bibliomaniac, as to have had a curious collection of *astrological books*; for 'there was greate correspondency betweene this archbishop and the hermetique philosophers of his time; and this is partly confirmed to me from Ripley's dedication of his '*Medulla*' to him, ann. 1476; as also the presentation of Norton's *Ordinall*,' &c. Thus writes Ashmole, in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 455.

"Speaking of the public library of Oxford, at this period, Hearne tells us, from a letter sent to him by Thomas Baker, that there was 'a chapleyn of the universitie chosen, after the maner of a bedell, and to hym was the custodie of the librariye committed, his stipend

—cvi s. and viiid. his apparell found hym *de secta generosorum*. No man might come in to studdie but graduats and thoes of 8 years contynuanee in the universitie, except noblemen. All that come in must firste sweare to use the bookes well, and not to deface theim, and everye one after at his proceedings must take the licke othe. Howers apoynted when they shuld come in to studdie, viz. betwene ix and xi aforenoone, and one and four afternoone, the keper geving attendaunce: yet a prerogative was graunted the chancellour Mr. Richard Courtney to come in when he pleased, during his own lieffe, so it was in the day-tyme: and the cause seemeth, that he was **CHEIFFE CAWSE AND SETTER ON OF THE LIBRARY.** *Curious Discourses by eminent Antiquaries*; vol. ii. p. 410. edit. 1775."

Mr. Dibdin has inserted a very interesting notice of the renowned Roger Bacon, and a wood-cut of that philosopher's study; but the notice is too long for insertion.

A great deal of curious and interesting matter is brought forward respecting Richard de Bury, the memorable Bishop of Durham, an "enthusiastic lover of any thing in the shape of a book."

In the "fifth part," or "Drawing Room," Lysander completes his history of book collectors, bringing it down from the accession of Henry VIII. to the present time. In this history, the most striking characters are those of Archbishop Parker, Dr. Dee, Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Robert Cotton, the Ferrar family, Elias Ashmole, Lord Keeper and Dr. North, Anthony Wood, John Bagford, John Murray, Thomas Britton, and Thomas Hearne: not but that due honours are paid to the more popular names of Harley, Mead, Folkes, and West. Descending to a more recent period, Mr. Dibdin has a long and very curious note about the late George Stevens. We have no reason to doubt the correctness of Mr. Dibdin's information concerning this latter bibliomaniac (if he *must* be so called); but the note is too long for insertion, and would be spoiled by a partial extract.

In the notes to this part are also subjoined analyses of catalogues of the collections mentioned by Lysander. This part of the work must, we presume, be invaluable to curious book-dealers and collectors; but we shall scarcely be expected to enter into the details. They are diversified by episodes or digressions; thus, at p. 268—271, we have a singular note concerning the frightful books, descriptive of hell-torments, which were made the reading manuals of children towards the opening of the sixteenth century; and Mr. Dibdin seems resolved to frighten the 'children of larger growth,' of the nineteenth century, by introducing a terrible wood-cut, illustrative of this subject. At p. 371—5, we have a digression about the ancient severe disci-

pline practised in our schools; and at p. 394—7, we have another ‘excursus,’ replete with ‘pithy and pleasant’ extracts from Braithwait’s *Arcadian Princess*. Again, in his description of one of the prevailing symptoms of the bibliomania, the author travels at large into all that wild and dangerous doctrine connected with scarce and curious prints; and if the pupil of Granger have not here a feast even to satiety of Marlborough gems, Rembrandtiana, &c. &c. we know not where he can procure it.

The sixth and last part, entitled “The Alcove,” having fewer notes and more dialogue than the preceding parts, appears to us the most trifling, and of course the least interesting, in the work. It treats principally of the extravagant luxuries of bibliography, Strawberry-hill editions, the lucubrations of duchesses and countesses printed in small numbers for private distribution, which from their *rarity* are sometimes sold at prices that would infer a very mistaken notion of their intrinsic value, were it not notorious that the *Miller* halfpenny, remarkable only for giving a true likeness of the bob wig of a dilletanti grocer of Bungay in Suffolk, is also considered as a great rarity, and is sometimes sold for five guineas, *because* the die broke when only twenty-three impressions were struck off. It also recounts the prices of scarce books and prints, and anecdotes of the competitors for the purchase of them. Upon this last subject we shall extract a short note.

“A singular story is ‘extant’ about the purchase of the late Duke of Roxburgh’s copy of the first edition of Shakspeare. A friend was bidding for him in the sale-room: his grace had retired to one end of the room, coolly to view the issue of the contest. The bid-dings rose quickly to twenty guineas; a great sum in former times: but the duke was not to be daunted or defeated. A slip of paper was handed to him, upon which the impropriety of continuing the contest was suggested. His grace took out his pencil; and, with a coolness which would have done credit to Prince Eugene, he wrote on the same slip of paper, by way of reply—

— Lay on, Maeduff!

And d——d be he who first cries ‘Hold, enough!’

“Such a spirit was irresistible, and bore down all opposition. The duke was of course declared victor, and he marched off triumphantly, with the volume under his arm. Lord Spencer has a fine copy of this first edition of Shakspeare, collated by Steevens himself.”

But of all these whims and caprices of overflowing wealth, none appears to us more flagrant than the rage for *illustrated*

copies, a species of production described to the life in the following extract.

"Recipe for Illustration.—Take any passage from any author—to wit; the following (which I have done, quite at random) from Speed: '*Henry le Spenser*, the warlike *Bishop of Norwich*, being drawne on by *Pope Urban* to preach the *Crusade*, and to be general against *Clement* (whom sundry *cardinals* and great *prelates* had also elected pope), having a fifteenth granted to him, for that purpose, by *parliament*,' &c. &c. (*Historie of Great Britaine*, p. 721, edit. 1632.) Now let the reader observe, here are *only four lines*; but which, to be PROPERLY ILLUSTRATED, should be treated thus: 1st; procure all the portraits, at all periods of his life, of *Henry le Spenser*: 2dly; obtain every view, ancient and modern, like or unlike, of the city of *Norwich*; and, if fortune favour you, of *every bishop of the same see*: 3dly; every portrait of *Pope Urban* must be procured; and as many prints and drawings as can give some notion of the *Crusade*—together with a few etchings (if there be any) of *Peter the Hermit* and *Richard 1st*, who took such active parts in the *Crusade*: 4thly; you must search high and low, early and late, for every print of *Clement*: 5thly; procure, or you will be wretched, as many fine prints of *cardinals* and *prelates*, singly or in groups, as will impress you with a proper idea of the *Conclave*; and, 6thly; see whether you may not obtain, at some of our most distinguished old-print sellers, views of the *house of Parliament* at the period (A.D. 1383.) here described!!! The result, gentle reader, will be this: you will have work enough cut out to occupy you, for one whole month at least, from rise to set of sun—in parading the streets of our metropolis: nor will the expence in *coach hire*, or *shoe leather*, be the least which you will have to encounter! The prints themselves may cost something!

"Lest any fastidious and cynical critic should accuse me, and with apparent justice, of gross exaggeration or ignorance in this *recipe*, I will inform him, on good authority, that a late distinguished and highly respectable female collector, who had commenced an ILLUSTRATED BIBLE, procured not fewer than *seven hundred prints* for the illustration of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses of the first chapter of *Genesis*!

"The illustrated copy of Mr. Fox's Historical work, mentioned in the first edition of this work, p. 63, is now in the possession of Lord Mountjoy. The similar copy of Mr. Walter Scott's edition of Dryden's works, which has upwards of 650 portraits, is yet in the possession of Mr. Miller, the bookseller."

What a glorious variety of modes is offered in this great town of gaining a livelihood!

We have now done with our extracts, and shall proceed to notice the following omissions and errors which struck us in our progress through the work.

1. The names of Savile, Selden, and Twysden should have been introduced among our illustrious patrons of literature.

2. A few foreign catalogues, Burman's in the number of them, might have found places in Mr. Dibdin's list; copious and useful as it undoubtedly is.

3. Le Neve's should have been incorporated, according to it's chronological order, in the English list.

4. Why is William Cole, of Milton, struck out?

5. It is not Agamemnon (p. 176.), who so much interests Priam, but Ajax Telamon.

6. The Blenheim library was not founded by the Duke of Marlborough, but by the Earl of Sunderland. The print of Sir T. Chaloner was never sold for £74: this sum was given for a portrait of one of the Englefields. The print of Prince Henry is not by Pass, but by Hole; that, said to be Prince Henry, is Prince Charles.

7. The *Bibl. Selecta Literaria* of Struvius has no sort of connexion with the *Bibl. Historica*, by the same author, enlarged by Meusel; the former is purely bibliographical, the latter, general. Leibnitz's *Res Brunsvicienses* has nothing to do with bibliography. Muratori's works might be equally called bibliographical. The frightful assertion, making Dr. Farmer the author of the Essay upon the Demoniacs mentioned in Scripture, has been atoned for by Mr. Dibdin himself in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

8. At p. 422. note, Mr. Dibdin says, speaking of the library of Samuel Pepys, esq. "no bibliographical work, which he has yet consulted, vouchsafes even to mention his name." We can inform our author, that, according to Dr. Percy, (*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. 1. xv.) 'a life of this curious collector (Mr. Pepys) may be seen in the continuation of Collier's Supplement to his great Dictionary, 1715, at the end of vol. III. folio, art. PEPYS.' Undoubtedly we should be more pleased with a peep into Pepys's own *Diary*, which Mr. Dibdin tells us is preserved in his collection at Cambridge.

Although these errors are not of serious magnitude, we trust that they will be corrected in a future impression.

After reading in the preface, that the portraits were inserted to impress upon the reader's mind "a vivid recollection of those truly illustrious characters by whom the history of British literature has been preserved," we were a little surprised to find, at the close of "the Alcove," a silhouette of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin. It may certainly be true, that this gentleman is one of those illustrious characters, and we very much admire the delicate modesty with which he has insinuated the fact. But we cannot but expostulate a little with him upon

the unfairness of bringing into so close a comparison his own neat hat, smooth visage, and spruce cape, with the hard-favoured countenances, sheepskin robes, and bushy beards, in which he has represented Magliabechi, Bale, and Erasmus; especially as we do not recollect that any attempt has been made to make the balance even by a frank confession of the claim of those *truly illustrious characters** to a similar superiority in the intrinsic furniture which lay hid under their unpromising exterior.

We shall now take our leave of Mr. Dibdin and his work, with an earnest wish, that this new study, which has risen up among us, may be so confined and directed as not to push real literature from her seat, and substitute the shadow for the substance of mental improvement. By a discreet use of the volume before us, particularly of the notes, no such danger can be incurred. It is furnished with copious indexes "chronological, bibliographical, and general," by the help of which the reader may easily turn to the various objects of curious and interesting research, with which the volume really abounds, without danger of suffocation from the surrounding trash; and notwithstanding the strictures which we have thought it our duty to pass upon it, we are conscientiously of opinion, that, weighing its merits against its demerits, it is upon the whole deserving of the public patronage, and will afford as much solid information of the subjects which it treats, as most volumes of the same size and price. It is also printed with great taste and beauty, and embellished with many ornaments, which do credit to the skill of the several artists employed.

* We are ourselves very far from thinking that Erasmus was a *truly illustrious character*. He was certainly a man of uncommon talents; but no northern critic ever carried such talents to market with more unblushing venality; and this on the most important subjects of religion and politics. His flattery of King Henry VIII. and Pope Adrian is truly disgusting. Vide Dr. Milner's (*Dean of Carlisle*) volumes of the *History of the Church*, vol. iv. pp. 485, & seq. and vol. v. pp. 255, & seq. edit. 1810.

ART. XIII. *The Life of the Right Rev. Beilby Porteus, D.D. late Bishop of London.* By the Rev. Robert Hodgson, A.M. F.R.S. Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to her Majesty. London: Cadell and Davies.

The Life of Dr. Beilby Porteus, late Lord Bishop of London; with Anecdotes of those with whom he lived, and Memoirs of many living and deceased Characters. By a Lay Member of Merton College, Oxford. *Being a Tribute of affectionate Esteem to the Memory of a great and good Man, whose Writings, enforced by the corresponding Sanctity of his Example, have awakened religious Feeling, and rendered all those whom they have reached at once better and happier.* London: J. Davis.

It is justly remarked by the author of the second of these works, that "the biography of eminent men can scarcely be so written as not to be productive of some utility." There is certainly no species of writing better calculated to gratify the prevailing taste of the age by combining entertainment with utility.

When the lessons of wisdom and virtue, instead of being delivered in a dry didactic form, are exemplified and, as it were, embodied by the exhibition of real character, they can scarcely fail to arrest the attention of every well disposed mind. They place distinguished excellence not only in an admirable but in an attainable point of view; they excite a generous emulation in the soul; and, by displaying the path which departed worthies have trodden, direct as well as animate our progress in the pursuit of real improvement.

Such are the feelings which ought to be excited by the perusal of either of the works before us. They describe the character and conduct of a man who was, for many years, an ornament of the church of England, and a pattern, as well as a teacher and defender, of genuine religion. It is on this account that we strenuously recommend them to the attention of our readers. In the observations which follow we shall not minutely examine their respective merits as literary compositions; but rather dwell on the practical reflections which they suggest, and which appear to us at this time peculiarly deserving of attention.

In accuracy of statement, as well as correctness of style, we consider Mr. Hodgson as having greatly the advantage. We are, indeed, aware that his account of one particular transaction

has been disputed by the person who was chiefly concerned in it (the Rev. Dr. Bate Dudley); but as the documents, which the latter gentleman announces his intention to publish, are not yet before us, we shall forbear entering on the discussion of the subject. In the second of these narratives we have noticed many inaccuracies of style, and some violations of the rules of grammar, which appear to have escaped the author in the haste of composition. There are also some slight errors of statement, on which we do not think it needful to dwell particularly. It is evident that the writer is influenced by a sincere respect for religion and religious characters. His work, notwithstanding many defects, contains much interesting information (especially concerning the contemporaries of Dr. Porteus), and seems well calculated to animate the younger members of our universities, for whose benefit we suppose it to have been chiefly designed, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the practice of virtue.

We shall now proceed to notice the leading particulars related concerning the excellent prelate, whose example and writings are, unhappily, all that remain to us, and make such observations as naturally result from them.

Mr. Hodgson informs us, that he was the youngest but one of nineteen children, and was born at York on the 8th of May, 1731. His father and mother were natives of Virginia in North America, where they possessed a good estate, which they were induced to quit for the sake of removing to England, in order to give their children a better education. The bishop's anonymous biographer gives a different account, representing him as being a *native of America*, but born in a place which no one has been able to ascertain. The whole paragraph, compared with Mr. Hodgson's narrative, of which, considering his opportunities of information, we cannot doubt the authenticity, affords a striking instance of the inaccuracy to which we have before alluded.

The bishop's father found his income considerably diminished, whilst his expences were greatly increased, by his removal to England. "But still (as Mr. H. informs us) even with such contracted means, he accomplished the object nearest to his heart, that of giving his children an excellent education: and certainly, in the instance at least of the subject of these memoirs, his kindness was repaid beyond his most sanguine expectations."

We would recommend this circumstance to the consideration of all parents in the middle ranks of life. It is not indeed to be wished, that they should raise the desires of their children too far above the station in which Providence has placed them, or

teach them to believe that the objects of a liberal education are confined merely to a prospect of advancement in life. But the example and conduct of Mr. Porteus clearly shew, that this prospect may be combined with motives and principles of a higher nature, and such as might defy disappointment, although the hopes of preferment should be baffled. There are few objects of contemplation more delightful or instructive, than to behold a man of great attainments, acting under a conviction of the nothingness of ambitious pursuits, yet so far open to worldly impressions as to be capable of an active part in all the duties and charities of life, and of strenuously fulfilling the social ends of his being. But it is evident that such results can only be expected when the great truths and precepts of Christianity direct the exertions of a mind imbued with classical and general knowledge. The evidence that such a combination of talents met in the mind of Mr. Porteus, may be drawn from the events of his early life. His Seatonian prize poem, besides its great poetical merit, at once affords an instance of his correct taste and literary acquirements, and of the strong hold which the truths of Christianity had taken on his heart. That their grasp was not weakened by the relaxation of prosperity, nor their energy subdued by the meanness of grandeur, appears from the works before us, where it will be seen that the peculiar charms of his intercourse, and the utility of his life increased, as the sphere of his activity extended: nor is it easy to name the individual, who has at once contrived so to benefit his species by rational reformation, and at the same time to conciliate those whose habit it is to think all reformation useless, because all reformation is troublesome.

His early desire was to enter into holy orders, and his studies were peculiarly directed to the attainment of that knowledge which might best qualify him for the sacred office.

—“The gospel, the fathers, the early historians of the church and of the civil age connected with it, the writings of those who defended our faith and of those who assailed it, were perpetually in his hands. The greater part of his time was given to reading; and even in taking the exercises necessary for health, meditation seems to have formed and digested what the previous reading had supplied.”

[*Life of Dr. B. Porteus*, p. 60.]

In the year 1760 he preached a sermon before the University of Cambridge, which shewed how well qualified he was to defend the bulwarks of our faith against the assaults of infidels. It was occasioned by a most profane and mischievous publication, entitled “The History of the Man after God’s own

Heart." This sermon (of which the bishop's anonymous biographer has given an able analysis), is the fifth in his second volume of Discourses, and will be found worthy of a serious and attentive perusal. The publication of it greatly exalted the reputation of Mr. Porteus in the university; and, by attracting the notice and patronage of Archbishop Secker, laid the foundation of his subsequent elevation.

He was first appointed chaplain to the archbishop, in the year 1762. In 1765 he was presented to the livings of Renking and Wittersham, in Kent, which he exchanged for the rectory of Hunton in the same county; holding also a prebend at Peterborough. He was afterwards appointed Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester. In the year 1767 he obtained the rectory of Lambeth, which he held until the year 1776, when he was promoted to the bishoprick of Chester, and from thence, in a manner the most creditable to himself and the government, he was translated to that of London; in which high station he rendered most important services to religion, and contributed in a variety of ways to the happiness of mankind.

It is peculiarly honourable both to the bishop, and to those by whose means he received these successive preferments, that they were conferred upon him without solicitation, and solely as the reward of merit. It is unquestionably true, that regard to merit ought chiefly to influence those who have the disposal of any office of responsibility; but in no case has it so strong a claim to attention as in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments. The spirit of gratitude and piety with which Dr. Porteus received his last great piece of preferment, are sufficient to shew the fairness of his claim, although his modesty left it to the unsolicited justice of Mr. Pitt to prefer it on his behalf. The following is a picture of his private thoughts upon the occasion. Subjoined to a copy of Mr. Pitt's letter, announcing the honour conferred upon him by his Majesty, were found written in his own hand these interesting words: "I acknowledge the goodness of a kind Providence, and am fully sensible that nothing but this could have placed me in a situation so infinitely transcending my situation and deserts." (*P. 96, Hodgson's Life.*)

We hear much of the growth of separation, and the increase of sectaries; the danger of the church is loudly, and but too justly proclaimed. But we seldom hear from the same mouths the true causes of the evil. On careful inquiry it will be found, that one of the most pernicious is, the general habit of considering the ministerial office, rather with a view to its emolument,

than to its influence on the welfare of mankind. If those who enter into orders have no other object than to obtain an easy subsistence; if those who nominate to benefices, forget their own deep responsibility for the motives of their choice, we shall neither see our pulpits filled with zealous and faithful ministers; nor can we hope to behold the cause of the establishment triumphant. It is not, however, our intention to dilate on the advantages which sectaries too often derive from the incapacity or self-sufficient security of the parochial clergy. We have indeed delivered our sentiments on this subject in a former number. On the present occasion, we would rather remind those, who have the power of nominating to the higher offices of the church, (should they condescend to notice our observations,) of that severe accountableness and solemn risque that attends upon this branch of their stewardship. Every appointment of a bishop affects the purity of religion at one of the sources from which its living waters are ordained to be distributed. The example, the influence, and the writings of a prelate, possess considerable weight, not only with those who are more immediately subject to his superintendence, but also with the whole body of the clergy, and with a great proportion of the higher ranks of the laity. Let those who possess this power, consider how important are the duties of a bishop with respect to confirmation, ordination, and the whole of ecclesiastical discipline, not to mention his weight in the legislative body, and measure by that standard the magnitude of their own trust, and the consequences of its abuse.

We are in danger, however, of wandering too far from the subject which gave rise to these reflections. It was the merit of Dr. Porteus which led us to praise the conduct of his successive patrons, and to wish that their example were universally followed. His merit was not less real, though it might be less conspicuous, in his behaviour as a parish priest, than in his performance of his episcopal functions. Mr. Hodgson tells us, that

“ He discharged with zeal the duties of his parish; preached almost always in the morning; in the afternoon lectured on the catechism; and lost no opportunity, when he saw occasion, of private admonition. In his attention to the poor, he was uniform and indefatigable; he visited the sick, comforted the afflicted; relieved the indigent: he entered, in short, with assiduity and earnestness into whatever would promote, in any degree, their temporal and eternal welfare, and he did not labour in vain. ‘I had the happiness,’ he says, ‘to see my church well filled with a congregation, neat and decent in their attire, with cheerful and satis-

fixed looks, serious in their devotions, and attentive and grateful to their instructor.' "

But it is to the manner in which this excellent man fulfilled his duties as a bishop, that we would especially call the attention of our readers. There are some parts of his conduct in that office which, we doubt not, will be remembered by many of them with affection and gratitude. No person who has witnessed the solemn and impressive manner in which he administered the rite of confirmation, can fail to have been deeply affected by it. With Mr. Hodgson, we trust that the address which he made to the congregation at the conclusion of the service, "is fixed, in substance at least, on the recollection of thousands."—But we still feel that no small degree of gratitude is due to his respected biographer for preserving a copy of it, and did our limits permit, we should gladly transcribe it.

It would open a brighter prospect to the church, if the confirmation service were always thus performed. But we lament to have heard of too many instances in which, after the parochial minister has laboured with great assiduity to prepare the catechumens for this sacred rite, its effect has been diminished, by the tumult and disorder prevailing throughout the church, and by the want of due reverence in the administration of the ordinance. When, instead of a solemn imposition of hands, and a devout invocation of the divine blessing for each person separately, according to the rubric, bishops hastily touch the heads of as many as they can reach at once, and utter the appointed prayer in a hurried manner, young persons will never be persuaded that the graces of the Holy Spirit are thus conferred, or expect benefit from a rite, which is performed with such seeming indifference. We must plead the importance of the subject as our apology for the freedom of these remarks; the trouble of rectifying the evil would bear no sort of comparison with the benefit of the reformation. Confirmation is an ordinance peculiarly calculated to affect the youthful mind with serious impressions of religion. It is a duty, therefore, of solemn obligation, not merely to avoid every thing likely to diminish its influence, but to adopt the most impressive methods of strengthening the effect which may have been produced by previous instruction, and of awakening the minds of those who may have come to it without due preparation, to a sense of the importance of the new rank to which they are raised by it in the Christian institution.

The conduct of Bishop Porteus towards candidates for ordi-

nation was no less exemplary, though it has not been dwelt upon by either of his biographers. We particularly regret that Mr. Hodgson, who was so well qualified, has omitted to describe it. We are able, however, to say a few words on the subject from our own knowledge.

The bishop was peculiarly careful to exclude all improper persons from the ministry. His examination, instead of being confined merely to their classical attainments, had especial regard to their acquaintance with scripture, their ability to defend its truth, and their knowledge of its fundamental doctrines. Every thing in the performance of the ordination service was suited to affect their minds,—and when that service was over, he retired with them to his library, and conversed with them, most seriously and affectionately, on the weighty charge they had undertaken, and the course which they ought to pursue, both in their pastoral and private conduct.

Mr. Hodgson has given us large and valuable extracts from some of the bishop's charges, of which several will be found in the last edition of his works, to which this life is prefixed. Those charges shew his unremitting anxiety to guard the interests of religion, and to promote the proper discharge of the pastoral office. It is with regret that we reflect upon the contrast between them, and some others which we have seen. We find in *them* no bigotry, no intolerance, no invidious insinuations, against those of the clergy who are distinguished by peculiar zeal and diligence. They breathe, throughout, a truly apostolic spirit,—they are calculated to rouse the careless, to stimulate the lukewarm, to encourage and assist such as are faithful to their duty.

A passage in one of them, that was delivered at his *primary visitation of the diocese of London*, calls forth the following just, and, as we think, *well-timed*, observations from his biographer:

"There is one circumstance in it (he says) which I cannot suffer to pass without notice, the high testimony which it bears to the talents and virtues of his venerable predecessor, Bishop Lowth. The see of London had never been filled by a more distinguished prelate: and his successor felt that it would have been an act of injustice to so great a man, if he had not offered some part, at least, of that tribute which was justly due to his memory, and publicly expressed his deep regret for the loss sustained by the church, and by the world at large. The character he has given of him is forcibly and ably drawn; and although the necessity of enlarging upon other important matter prevented him from saying *much* upon the subject, he would yet but ill have satisfied his own feelings, or the expectations of his clergy, if, with such an opportunity before him, he had said *less*."

But the bishop's exertions to support the doctrine and discipline of our church were by no means confined to his charges. He used his utmost endeavours to enforce the residence of the parochial clergy, to exclude improper persons from the pulpits of his diocese, and to encourage all who were diligent in the discharge of their duty. In the disposal of his preferments, he was chiefly influenced by regard to the merit of the persons on whom he bestowed them. In him, indeed, no less than in the venerable Bishop of Durham, merit always found a generous and steady patron. His care to maintain the rights and promote the comforts of the inferior clergy is evident, from the steady zeal with which he supported, and finally carried through parliament, the bill for the relief of the city incumbents; and still more, from what Mr. Hodgson justly calls,

"That splendid and almost unexampled donation, of no less a sum than 6,700*l.* in the 3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, which, during his life, he transferred into the hands of the five archdeacons, for the time being, of the diocese of London, and the interest of which he directed to be annually distributed at their discretion, in sums not exceeding twenty pounds, to a certain number of the poorer clergy in that see, who may be thought to stand most in need of relief. This was, indeed, a noble act of munificence, and it will, for ages yet to come, render his name illustrious, and endear his memory to the church of England."

The description, which Mr. Hodgson gives, of the bishop's style of preaching and manner of delivery, is too long to be transcribed. Its justice, however, will be admitted, by all who have had the advantage of hearing him. His delivery, indeed, afforded a model highly worthy of imitation, and the manifest sincerity and earnestness which pervaded his discourses could not fail to make the deepest impression. His Lent lectures especially will, we trust, be long remembered by the multitudes who attended them, and the good effects which they produced be of permanent duration. When we consider his advanced age at the time they were delivered, and the numerous cares and avocations which pressed upon him in his important office, we cannot but feel the warmest admiration for the zeal by which he was animated, and consider his example as calling loudly for the imitation of all who fill the same exalted station.

It is thus, that the church is to be defended. It is thus, that the seductive arts of separatists are to be counteracted. It is thus, that the laity are to be taught to reverence their ecclesiastical rulers, and the clergy excited to zeal and diligence. Let but the higher orders of the church shew themselves earnest

in the cause, and their brethren, in inferior stations, will not fail to imitate their example, and emulate their ardour. It is by the lukewarmness of its ministers, that our establishment is endangered, or, as one of them has expressed it, that "establishments die of dignity." It is by their animation and assiduity that the sectaries prevail. Let the example of Dr. Porteus be universally followed, and we shall have no cause for apprehension.

The bishop's exertions were by no means confined to public preaching, or to the exhortation of his clergy. One of his first objects, after his translation to the see of London, was "the advancement of a society which had been set on foot the year before, and which bore the title of 'The society for enforcing the king's proclamation against immorality and profaneness.'" Of this society he was elected president, and many were the services which, under his auspices, it rendered to the cause of religion and morality. Since his death, we have been sorry to observe, that this institution has languished, and we fear that unless it should speedily be reanimated by a spirit like his, we shall have to lament its utter extinction. Amongst the measures adopted by this society, there was one which promised very beneficial effects. It was a voluntary agreement, into which its members entered, to observe the Lord's day in a proper manner, declaring that they held it "highly improper to give or accept invitations to entertainments or assemblies, or (except in cases of urgency, or for purposes of charity) to travel or to exercise any worldly occupations, or to employ their domestics or dependents, in any thing interfering with their public or private religious duties." In this agreement several persons of distinction were induced to join, and the bishop took pains to promote its general adoption. But, though disappointed in this hope, he never relaxed his zeal upon the subject, and in two memorable instances his endeavours were more successful. The first occurred in the winter of 1805, when several ladies of distinction opened their houses for "Sunday concerts, by professional performers, at which large numbers were assembled and much disturbance created, on the evening of that sacred day." To check this glaring evil, the bishop addressed a letter to three ladies of high rank, which Mr. Hodgson has preserved, and which produced a promise, of which, we hope with him, that "thus solemnly made, and hitherto observed, it will not be forgotten."

The other instance occurred but a very short time before his death. It was a visit which he made to the Prince of Wales, for the purpose of inducing his Royal Highness to withdraw his countenance from a meeting, chiefly of military gentlemen,

which was regularly announced, "as held every other Sunday during the winter season." The result of the interview was highly satisfactory to him;—a promise was given, that the day should be changed from Sunday to Saturday, and the most respectful attention was shewn, by this illustrious personage, to his venerable monitor. The conclusion of the bishop's narrative of this interview will, we are persuaded, command the assent of our readers.

"Surely (he says) it is in the power of such a man, in a station of such eminence, and formed, as he is, to be the delight, not only of this country but of all Europe, so to win the public affection, as to bow the hearts of all the people of England 'as it were the heart of one man.' "

Eager, as he was, to seize every opportunity of doing good, we need not wonder that the bishop actively patronized every well-conducted endeavour for the advancement of religion, and of human happiness. He was one of the first promoters of Sunday schools, and the zealous advocate for exertions for the conversion of the negroes in the West Indian islands. He was, also, one of the founders of the African Institution, and the steady friend of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His sentiments, respecting that society, are stated, at some length, by Mr. Hodgson (partly, indeed, in the bishop's own words), and the statement is such as cannot fail to convince every unprejudiced reader of the futility of the objections raised against that noble and benevolent association.

To enumerate all the instances, in which his well directed zeal and truly christian charity were conspicuous, would far exceed our limits. We cannot, however, avoid noticing his endowment of the chapel at Sundridge, in Kent, of which each of his biographers has given a truly gratifying narrative.

Deeply impressed with the evils which result to the cause of religion and morality, when a large proportion of the inhabitants of any parish reside at a considerable distance from the church, he was induced to erect, at his own expence, a chapel at Ide Hill, in the parish of Sundridge, where he usually resided during the autumn months. This chapel he endowed with a competent maintenance for a minister, and likewise erected a house for his residence. He had the satisfaction to complete this benevolent work, and to see the chapel consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, about two years before his death; and we hope that, whilst the posterity of those, for whose benefit this chapel was erected, will continue to bless their benefactor, the example will stimulate other affluent persons, both of the clergy and laity, to confer, or at least contribute

towards conferring a similar benefit on the community. Many are the parishes, in which half the inhabitants reside at a far greater distance from any place of worship than the inhabitants of Ide Hill did from the church at Sundridge. Of them, a large proportion necessarily consists of old and infirm persons, or women, whose duty to their children will not allow them to go far from home, for the purpose of attending divine service. These persons have no alternative, but that of continuing in a state of, almost, heathen ignorance, or attending on the ministry of some irregular teacher. On a former occasion, we offered some remarks on the subject, and we have again adverted to it, in the hope, that by awakening public attention to its importance, some legislative provision may be obtained to remedy the evil.

When we speak of a legislative provision, we cannot but remember how actively Bishop Porteus exerted himself in parliament, wherever the interests of religion, morality, or humanity, were concerned. On other occasions, he seldom took a part in the discussions; but when the cause of African freedom was agitated; when endeavours were used to check the baneful vice of adultery; when a bill was introduced to promote the residence of parochial ministers, or to provide for the support of the inferior clergy; the mild, but energetic and persevering, eloquence of the bishop was exerted, and never without producing a deep impression on those whom he addressed.

Having thus, through life, devoted himself to the glory of God and the good of his fellow creatures, he was able to meet the approach of death with resignation and with comfort. His end was singularly peaceful. After a gradual decline, "without a pang or sigh—by a transition so easy, as only to be known by a pressure of his hand upon the knee of his servant who was sitting near him, the spirit of this great and good man fled from its earthly mansion to the realms of peace."

If we had not already so long trespassed on the patience of our readers, we should have been desirous to introduce in this place a summary of the accounts given by the bishop's respective biographers, of his person and manners, his literary and theological attainments, and his excellencies in social and domestic life. We regret, indeed, that a more minute description of his domestic habits has not been afforded to us; but enough is related to shew that a truly mild and cheerful disposition, and the warmest benevolence of heart, animated and guided by the principles of genuine christianity, were his distinguishing characteristics. While he lived he was a blessing to his contemporaries, and, being dead, he yet speaks by his example and his

writings, in accents which can scarcely fail to have a happy influence on posterity.

There are two circumstances related by Mr. Hodgson, in which that example may be peculiarly useful at the present time, and for this reason we cannot avoid some notice of them in this place. We find (p. 275), that the zeal and piety of this truly orthodox prelate were sufficient to subject him to the vulgar and "sweeping imputation of methodism." "But," as Mr. Hodgson observes, with no less truth than spirit, "he was not to be deterred from pursuing the calm determination of his own mind by any *calumny whatever*, and much less by the *stigma of a name*, a name devised by the enemies of religion for the worst purposes, and which, as generally used, attaches indiscriminately to the ignorant raving fanatics, and the sound, learned, pious, and orthodox divine." (P. 275.)

Again we are informed, (p. 265), that the bishop considered the homilies, articles, and liturgy, of the church of England to be essentially *scriptural*, that he would never admit the Calvinistic interpretation of them to be the true one, for he thought the language of scripture, which the articles, liturgy, and homilies, speak, decidedly adverse to the sentiments of Calvin. "Upon this point," says Mr. Hodgson, "I wish to be distinctly understood as asserting on my own positive knowledge, that in no one article of faith, *as far as they differ from our church*, did he sanction the tenets of that school. On the contrary, I have heard him repeatedly, and in the most unqualified terms, express his astonishment, that any soberminded man, sitting down without prejudice to the study of the sacred writings, should so explain and understand them." (P. 265—6.) Although Mr. Hodgson has brought forward no document in proof of this opinion of the bishop, we have no doubt whatever that his sound learning and strong judgement must have inevitably led him to such a conclusion. And we consider it as one of the strongest proofs of that clear discrimination and fortitude of mind which so eminently fitted him for his station, that the vulgar imputation of Calvinism had no greater effect than that of methodism, in preventing his lordship from shewing the most open and decided countenance to those pious and orthodox clergy of his diocese, who have obtained from the thoughtless and the profligate the appellation of Calvinists, because they followed the example of their great diocesan, in exalting faith and grace as the surest foundation of moral practice.

We have great pleasure in recording these two circumstances, because we think that the first may serve for an example to the younger clergy not to be frightened out of their piety and zeal

by the shadow of a shadow, and that the second may be signally serviceable to those who are disposed to exercise their talents in the refutation of Calvinism.

The articles, liturgy, and *homilies*, of the church of England, in their plain and obvious acceptation, seem to be not only the surest ground on which a church of England writer can rest his opposition to the peculiar doctrines and errors of Calvin, but a close attention to them will inevitably temper the polemical ardour of those who in their zeal to find out food for refutation are induced to calvinize teachers and principles which are any thing but calvinistic, and stop not till they eulist the venerable reformer at once as the patron of Antinomianism, and of the most important and orthodox doctrines of the church of England; at once as the open assertor of the compatibility of profligacy with salvation, and the promulgator of doctrines so strict, that none of the sons of men can be saved. But we check our pen at present, in the belief that we shall find occasion to examine this matter more at length in our next number.

Much as we have already said on the subject, we cannot forbear once more (before we close this article) urging the importance of raising such men, and *such men only*, to the episcopal dignity. It is not the proficient in merely human learning; it is not the courtly preacher; it is not the sturdy polemic; or the intolerant stickler for external forms, that is qualified to preserve our church. The office of a bishop must not be regarded as a sinecure, a station of ease and dignity, suited to reward the exertions of those who have been employed in the tuition of our nobility, or have shewn themselves skilful advocates for our civil administration. The office of a bishop is that of an overseer, a superintendant; one who is to watch over the conduct of the inferior clergy, and to take care that they properly perform their duties, whilst he assiduously fulfils his own. Holding the rank of an apostle in the church, he should be actuated by an apostolic spirit. His time, his talents, his revenues, should be devoted to the support of that great cause in the service of which he is engaged. Such should be his conduct under any circumstances; but especially in days like these, when every thing that is sacred, every thing that is good, every thing that is dear to man either in time or eternity is exposed to hazard, when not the walls of the sanctuary only, but the ark of the covenant itself is assaulted.

Far be it from us, however, to insinuate that many able defenders of the sacred cause are not to be found at present in the episcopal order. Whilst we mourn over the ashes of a Porteus, we would not forget that such men as Barrington, Huntingford,

and Burgess, survive, together we trust with many others, whose qualifications are less appreciated, only perhaps because they have been less drawn into observation. We have read with delight the charges addressed at different times by the present bishop to the clergy of Durham, and contemplated with admiration his munificent institutions for the encouragement of sacred learning. The college of Llanduwi Brefi, and the various exertions made in the diocese of St. David's to excite the zeal of the clergy, and to render them better qualified for their important duties, will shed immortal honour on the name of him from whom they derive their origin, and promise to render that diocese a fountain of light to the whole principality.

Let similar measures be generally adopted; let similar characters be always raised to the episcopal bench both in England and in Ireland, and we shall feel no alarm for the security of our establishment. The *esto perpetua* of Father Paul will doubtless then be addressed to her, not by her present members only, but by multitudes who will return to her communion; and a confident hope may be entertained that the divine blessing will realize the wish, and render the united church of England and Ireland instrumental to preserve the knowledge and practice of true religion in this happy country, and to diffuse its blessings over every region of the earth.

ART. XIV. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings. Miller, 1811.

THAT a country, immediately touching the frontier of Bengal, should so long have remained unknown to us, may seem unaccountable, and a volume professedly descriptive of such a country from the pen of General Kirkpatrick* cannot but awaken a considerable portion of public curiosity. If, however, the interest thus excited be not corrected by a due consideration of the circumstances under which this gentleman visited and sojourned in that secluded region, it may operate to an extent injurious to his book. The circumstances to which we allude are briefly these,—the jealousy of the rulers of Ne-

* This officer has been promoted to the rank of major-general since the publication of the work before us.

paul rendered inexpedient the use of mathematical instruments; geographical science is therefore but little benefited by General Kirkpatrick's journey; and his short stay in Nepaul, confined as he was in the range of his inquiry, and politically restricted from those most likely to gratify in their result his own and the public curiosity, must be taken into our account in qualifying our animadversions on the imperfect state in which it is presented to us. To these we may also add other circumstances not quite so justifiable, viz. that it has not been revised for publication by himself, nor was it written with any such view; but appears nearly in the form in which his account was first drawn up for the information of the government of India, and of the Court of Directors. We are informed in the preface, that these notes, prepared for the information of the Indian government, were committed to a literary gentleman, who died before he could prepare the materials for the press, and that the author could not himself be prevailed on to revise the manuscript. We regret on his account, as well as on that of the public, that he should have permitted the work to be presented without rendering it more worthy of the literary reputation which he is understood to possess among his private friends.

It is much to be wished that General Kirkpatrick had prefixed some brief outline of the situation, history, &c. of Nepaul, for which sufficient materials were within his reach. For although, as we accompany him on his route, a reasonable proportion of information be incidentally gathered on these points, yet a little previous information, concerning a country so little known to geographers, would be very advantageous. We shall, therefore, before we enter on our account of the work, endeavour to supply this deficiency to such of our readers as may not be able or willing to consult the original authorities, and shall also lay before the public some original information concerning this remote country, which appears to us to be no less interesting in itself, than well calculated to illustrate the manners and state of society among the natives.

The territory of Nepaul, situated between the 27 and 28 degrees of latitude, is composed rather of a congeries of mountains, than a connected chain of hills. It is of an intermediate elevation between the plains of Bengal and Bahar, and the mountains of Himaleh or Himmalaya, which even in the latitude of 29 north are covered with perpetual snow, and constitute without question the most elevated region of the old world. Their stupendous height is perceived in clear weather from Point of the Ganges, in lat. 25°. 17'. N. and is mistaken

by travellers for a range of fleecy clouds, until successive observations shew the outline to be unchanged.

The extent of Nepaul may be roundly estimated at twelve geographical degrees between its eastern and western limits, while from north to south it extends to an uncertain breadth of from one to two degrees. Without placing much reliance on Hindu tradition, even when seconded by Puranic quotations, we may admit that many historical and geological facts are incorporated with the wildness of their mythological extravagances. That the valley of Nepaul, as well as its beautiful sister of Kashmir, may both have been heretofore extensive lakes, is strongly indicated by the present appearances of the depth and nature of the soil, &c. &c.; and the probability is certainly not weakened by corresponding traditions among the natives. Nor can we allow much weight to General Kirkpatrick's objections to the hypothesis. The romantic valley of Nepaul is of an oval shape, about 12 miles in its greatest diameter, surrounded by chains of lofty hills; and, although in reference to them properly called a valley, is yet high land.

Between these mountains, and the frontier of Bengal, is situated the Turryani, a succession of lower hills, and unhealthy swamps, as the name imports. In the wide wastes, which are generally found on the frontiers of uncivilized states, it was the rule of ancient times to consider the boundary of each to be marked by the limit of actual cultivation; and a solitary fact happens to be known to us, which seems to afford an interesting illustration of the actual progress, or recession, on each side of the line to which we allude. On the acquisition of the Dewany, in 1705, the small fort of Jellâlgur, in the province of Purnea, was the frontier station, and actual boundary of the Mogul government. In 1796 the British frontier, marked by the limits of its cultivation, extended near forty miles to the northward of Jellâlgur. The most laboured dissertation could not exhibit, in a more conclusive form, the actual superiority of the British government in India, with all its faults, over the native states, in the progress of civilization, agriculture, population, and wealth.

Our immediate neighbours, in this lower belt, were known by the general designation of the twenty-four rajahs or chieftains, whose territories had been occasionally assailed by the Mogul lieutenants; but the hills of Nepaul, as General Kirkpatrick informs us, had never been subdued, or even disturbed by the Mussulman power. Here then the spectator may seek for man in that state of peace and innocence as then described

as the legitimate offspring of the Hindu religion, unpolluted by the crimes of civilized society, undisturbed by the vices which ambition engenders; and the theorist would find his ideal picture transformed into an exhibition of murder, rapine, and treachery, as perfect as any which the world has witnessed on a larger scale, from the conquests of Alexander to those of Napoleon.

The Goorkali, a petty chief whose territories are situated to the westward of Nepaul, began the trade of conquest in the usual form of seizing successively, by fraud, treachery, or violence, the territories of his neighbours. About the year 1769, or 1770, a disputed succession in Nepaul induced one of the competitors to solicit the aid of the Goorkali, and he afforded it in the customary way, by seizing the patrimony for himself. In 1773 he meditated the conquest of Morung, a portion of the Turryâni, adjacent to the province of Purnea; the chieftain of that country, who had always preserved a friendly intercourse with Bengal, claimed the protection of the English government; and Mr. Hastings addressed a letter to the Goorkali "prohibiting his advance to the eastward of the river Coosi, inasmuch as the rajah of Morung being the friend of the English, must be protected by them." The sagacious Goorkali met the courier with the letter on the banks of the Coosi, detained him until he had completed the conquest of Morung, and then dismissed him properly bribed, and instructed with an answer to Mr. Hastings, "regretting that he had not received his letter until he had completed the conquest of Morung, a faithless and turbulent race, over whom it was necessary to establish a regular government; that being now accomplished, it would be easy to make such arrangements in consequence, as should be convenient and acceptable to both states." Other objects of superior importance prevented Mr. Hastings from prosecuting his original intention with respect to Morung. The rajah died during the campaign, and his widow, a beautiful and interesting female of seventeen, took refuge within the English possessions.

It is always a delightful relief to turn from the review of crime and conquest to the contemplation of the peaceful virtues; and we shall extract from the journal of a friend, who visited that neighbourhood not many years ago, some account of an English gentleman, connected with the subject of our narrative.

Mr. Smith first settled in this neighbourhood in 1773, as the agent, and subsequently the partner, of some commercial men in Calcutta, and engaged largely in the trade of timber

from Morung, in the manufacture of indigo and salt-petre, and in an artificer's yard which employs about 150 workmen, in which he builds boats, constructs carts, agricultural implements, &c. &c. which find a ready sale on the spot; on the whole, he has not less, as he informs me, than 500 men in constant monthly pay, in his various establishments. Mr. Smith is not in the company's service; but without authority, without any public office, and almost without public protection, he has established in his neighbourhood an influence of the most honourable kind, resulting from a confidence in his integrity, and his virtues. All disputes are referred to his decision, and the judges of Tirhout and Purnea are troubled with no suits from the neighbourhood of Naut-poor (the place of his residence). In seasons of famine, he often purchases the most wretched of the children, whom it is the practice of every part of India to offer for sale: these he maintains till of an age to be employed in useful labour, and then either establishes them in farms, or employs them in his works at the same pay as other labourers or artificers, and the severest mark of authority which he exercises over them, in quality of master, is dismissal from his service."

If Mr. Smith be still alive, and should chance to inspect these pages, we trust that he will receive with kindness the testimony borne by a traveller and a stranger to the universal veneration, and almost devotion which his character was observed to command.

To this person, the interesting female, whom we have described, made the singular proposal of conferring her hand and her kingdom on the single condition, that he should assert his new rights, and place himself at the head of her people; "and this (continues the MS. journal before us) Mr. Smith assures me he could easily have effected with no other aid than the mere formality of the sanction of the English government, as the people only wanted a leader; and the expectation of eventual support."

The only return which Mr. Smith could honourably make to these romantic advances, was the plain avowal that they would inevitably be discouraged by his government. He afforded her advice, protection, and consolation: she fixed her residence a few miles from his dwelling, and twenty-two years afterwards, when our journalist visited Mr. Smith, an intercourse of almost daily messages of inquiry, of thanks, or demands of advice, attested her obligations, her gratitude, her respect, and her attachment.

The conquests of the Goorkali, says our MS., stretched in process of time over a territory amounting to an empire, ex-

tending from Luinagur, and the hills of Almora, on the west, to the Burhampooter on the east, and touching the English territory in their whole extent on the frontiers of Rohilcund, Oude, Rungpoor, and other territories; throughout this wide scope, at various distances from the frontier, grows a species of fir or pine of noble stature, furnishing spars of the first quality for naval purposes, as our journalist was informed by Mr. Smith, and was satisfied from actual inspection. A letter from Sir Robert Barker to Lord Clive in 1776 states, that "its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India;" and then adverts to the gold, cinnamon, musk, elephants' teeth, &c. &c. which are produced in these regions. General Kirkpatrick is of opinion that this is an exaggerated account of the natural riches of the Turrye districts, and we concur in this opinion, as far as regards the last enumerated articles; but with respect to the first, we shall presently enter into some details which will shew them to be of the utmost importance to our Indian empire.

The most accessible and direct road from Bengal to Tibet and Chinese Tartary passes through Bootan, to the eastward of Nepal, which latter country had seldom been visited by any travellers, except Jesuit missionaries, to whom no portion of the globe was unknown. Two missions from the government of Bengal to the Teshoo Lama in Tibet had been successively dispatched, one under Mr. Bogle in 1774, a second in 1783, and again under Captain Turner, who has published an interesting account of his travels; but Nepal had never been visited by any Englishman before the mission of General Kirkpatrick, which was occasioned by the following incident.

On the death at Pekin of the Teshoo Lama, who had proceeded on a religious visit to the Emperor of China, his brother Sumhur Lama, under some alarm, fled to Nepal, taking with him a considerable quantity of treasure. This man excited the avarice of the Goorkali by a description of the treasures of the Chinese empire, and an expedition towards Lehassa returned loaded with plunder about the year 1785. In 1782 another expedition, marching with extreme secrecy and rapidity, suddenly appeared at Degerchek, the seat of the Teshoo Lama (inferior in religious rank to the Delai Lama of Lehassa), and plundered it of the accumulated treasure of ages. The Lama escaped with difficulty across the Burhampooter; and sent intelligence of the event to the court of China. The borders of Tartary contiguous to Lehassa, furnished a force amply sufficient for the occasion, and they marched direct for Degerchek, from whence the Nepal troops had retired, and

were pursued by the Chinese army, which penetrated to the capital of Nepal, and compelling the Goorkali to acknowledge himself tributary to the Emperor Kien Long, thus brought the frontier of the Chinese empire into contact with the British dominions. A letter from the Delai Lama to Lord Cornwallis announced the object of the armament, and another from the Goorkali solicited support. Lord Cornwallis determined on neutrality, but offered his mediation through an envoy. The conquest was effected before the envoy could be dispatched; but it was still considered expedient that he should proceed for the purpose of endeavouring to open a friendly commercial intercourse, and to obtain more correct information respecting a state of which we had hitherto possessed little knowledge beyond the single fact of its geographical extent along the limits of our own frontier. The amount of the information obtained is comprised in the volume before us, and if it had been limited to the single fact, which we have emphatically recommended to public attention, we should deem the communication of the highest importance.

A circumstance occurred in the course of this campaign, which is a remarkable example of important events arising from apparently inadequate causes. When the Chinese army, flushed with success, had approached Katmunda, the capital of Nepal, the Goorkali, (who had by a series of movements indicating excessive alarm rendered its general somewhat careless and secure,) made a sudden and unexpected attack on his camp, and treated him so roughly as to render him extremely doubtful of the success of another experiment. While in this frame of mind, the Goorkali proposed terms which were accepted, and produced the great object in his view, the evacuation of his country by the hostile army. The success of the attack, which we have described, was materially promoted by the firmness and energy of a corps of regular troops, which had been disciplined by deserters, or discharged sepoys from the British service, and clothed in British uniforms. The Chinese general believed, or affected to believe, that he had been attacked by a corps of regular British troops, and so reported the fact to his government. It will be recollected that at a subsequent period, the objects of Lord Macartney's embassy to China are represented by Sir George Staunton to have been most strenuously opposed by the Chinese general, who had commanded the expedition to Nepal; that he openly insisted on having seen our regular troops opposed to him in that country, and that Lord Macartney was only enabled to avow that the thing appeared to him to be improbable, and that the fact

was certainly unknown to him. The author of our manuscript journal had an opportunity, after the publication of the narrative of that embassy, to explain the fact to Sir George Staunton: who declared his belief, that if these circumstances had been distinctly known to Lord Macartney, at the period of his embassy, he might reasonably have hoped for a different result of his mission.

We shall now proceed to extract from the work before us such information of an accurate nature, as it appears to us to afford concerning this singular and little frequented region.

In the valley are several large towns. The capital is estimated at 50,000 inhabitants, contained in 5000 houses, "built with brick and tile, some of three and four stories, but almost without exception of a mean appearance; even the rajah's palace being but a sorry building, and claiming no particular notice. The streets are excessively narrow, and nearly as filthy as those of Benares." (P. 160.) This estimate does not include many towns, villages, and hamlets, subordinate to the capital; and which if included according to the custom of the natives, would swell the population to 186,000, and the houses to 22,000.

The city of next importance in the valley of Nepaul is Patu, about two miles to the S.E. of Khatmunda, formerly an independent capital, and then said to have contained 24,000 houses; including its dependencies within the valley. It is a neater town than the present metropolis, and contains some very handsome edifices.

"Bhatgong lies about eight miles east from Khatmunda, and is in many respects, though not in population, a superior city; its palace and buildings in general are of more striking appearance; and its streets, if not much wider, are at all events much cleaner than those of the metropolis. It owes this last advantage to its admirable brick pavement, which has not received, or indeed required, the least repair for thirty years past. Nepaul in general is remarkable for the excellence of its bricks and tiles; but those of Bhatgong are commonly allowed to be far preferable to the rest. It appears to be the favourite residence of the Brahmins of Nepaul, containing many more families of that order than Khatmunda and Patu together; all those of the Chetree tribe (to which the reigning prince belongs) flocking to the capital, while Patu is principally inhabited by Newars." (P. 164.)

"Kirthipoor occupies the summit of a low hill, about three miles west of Patu; it was at one time the seat of an independent prince, though at the period of Purthi Narain's (properly Prithwi Narayan's), invasion, it was included in the territory of Patu. The reduction of this place cost the Goorkhali so much trouble, that in

resentment of the resistance made by the inhabitants, he barbarously caused all the males to be deprived of their noses. We came to the knowledge of this fact, in consequence of observing among the porters who transported our baggage over the hills a remarkable number of noseless men; the singularity of the circumstance leading us to enquire the cause of it. Kirthipoor is said to have reckoned at one period no less than 6000 houses or families within its jurisdiction. At present it is a place of no great extent or consideration." (P. 165.)

The truth of this fact, which is worthy of *French imitation*, and speaks volumes of the state of society in Nepaul, is strongly corroborated by a paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. by Pere Giuseppe, who particularly describes the transaction.

Other considerable towns are situated within the valley, the total population of which is recently estimated at half a million; that of the whole kingdom of Nepaul cannot be ascertained with any accuracy, but there are many circumstances which lead us to suppose that it cannot be very dense; the very mountainous nature of the country would alone be sufficient to prevent it. It appears, however, that the Nepaulians are by no means behind their Chinese neighbours in the industrious cultivation of their soil. "The northern rise of Doona-baisi mountain, though of a perpendicular height not less than twelve hundred yards, was cultivated in some parts from its very summit to its base, presenting to the view one of the most interesting sights that can be well imagined; many of the fields, indeed, appeared to be so steep as to excite some degree of wonder in us at the husbandman's being able to reach, far less to cultivate, them." (P. 82.) The soil, in the valley especially, is very fruitful, yielding ordinarily from twenty to thirty fold, and in some places three crops in the year, one of wheat, one of rice, and one of pulse; or two of rice and one of wheat. Such fertility may certainly overcome many checks, and ancient traditions are current of a great population in former times. The subjects of the rajah of Jumlah were once said to have been so numerous, that the passage of his army over twenty-two buffalo hides piled one upon another was sufficient to tread them into one mass." (P. 292.) We have heard of a similar mode of magnifying the army of the African sovereign of Tombaktù, from a traveller who professed to have visited that city, but we doubt how far our more fastidious political economists will be satisfied with the accuracy of such a mode of taking the population.

The following passages give an interesting account of the face of the country and of its cultivation, the former of which is

further illustrated in the volume before us by two or three well executed views.

"Leaving Markhoo, which stands near the summit of an eminence on the right, and quitting the bed of the river, we ascended the hill of Ekdunta, over which there are two paths. Our cattle, and most of our people, proceeded by the safest, but neither the shortest nor easiest. It lies to the left, and partly through the course of a rivulet. That by which I was conducted winds round the right or east face of the hill, at no great distance from its brow, and is the most alarming, if not the most dangerous, passage that occurred in our whole journey; the breadth of it no where exceeds two feet, and it is in some places not so much. On one hand is the rise of the hill, which, contrary to the general nature of these mountains, is here quite bare, affording neither shrub nor stone capable of sustaining the tumbling traveller, on whose other hand is a perpendicular precipice some hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which the Markhoo-kola rushes impetuously over its rocky bed. When I perceived the situation I was in, I should have been very well pleased to have got on my legs; though probably, so surefooted are the bearers, I was better in my hammock*, where, at all events, I was under the necessity of remaining, as the narrowness of the road did not allow of my quitting it, with safety.

"After descending from Ekdunta hill we proceeded for about a mile and a half along an undulating valley intersected with canals," (not artificial canals we presume, but we wish this passage had been less vague), "and natural rivulets, and swelling sometimes into small eminences; the greater part highly cultivated, and exhibiting several interesting views of scattered cottages and hamlets, some of them standing on the summits, some on the sides, and others in the bottoms of the enclosing hills, the whole constituting a *coup-d'oeil* of the most pleasing and picturesque kind. If, indeed, it had not been for the terraces or steps (resembling an irregular flight of stairs) in which the fields were laid out, both in the low and elevated situations, and which form a striking feature in the landscape of this country, the general scenery might have been compared with the appearance of many a spot in England. The terraces or steps just mentioned are constructed with no small labour (often extending to the tops of the highest hills), for the culture of those kinds of grain which require that the water should remain for some time on the soil. The sides of most, if not of all, the mountains in this country, abounding in springs, these terraces are easily overflowed, and the water conducted from one to another, as circumstances demand. Sometimes two fields or flights of terraces are seen separated from

* A hammock slung under a bamboo seems to be the palanquin of Nepal; a print of it is given. It is very much like the Manjil used at Madeira and Goa, but has not the shading canopy that renders the conveyance at the latter place much more comfortable.

one another by ravines or rivulets several hundred feet deep, watered from the same spring by means of an aqueduct, constructed simply of one or more hollowed trees laid across the intervening chasms, and slightly supported at their extremities, as far as the nature of the precipice happens to admit." (P. 63—65.)

"With regard to the plough, it is proper to notice, that it is scarcely known among the Newars; it being only very recently that a few of those occupying the lands about Thankote have been prevailed on to employ this implement of tillage, their prejudice against the use of which would seem to have originated in the extraordinary reverence they entertain for the bullock: since, though they have no scruples with regard to buffaloes, they deem it the highest sacrilege to approach even the image of the former animal, except in a posture of adoration; insomuch, that a malicious person wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose by placing a stone or wooden figure of a cow in the midst of his field." (P. 100.)

"The Newars prepare their ground for the rice-seed, by digging it with a sort of spade; turning up the soil in ridges, as in potatoe plantations, leaving the whole for some time to be well flooded, and finally levelling the field. This mode, though very laborious, is said to be full as productive to the farmer as that of ploughing." *Ibid.*

It may be well conceived that the utmost industry must be very insufficient, under all these impediments, to procure any thing like the most abundant produce from the soil.

On the religion, or rather the superstitions, of the Nepaulians, we shall not enter much at length.

The Hindu religion, subdivided as in Hindustan, into various tribes and sects, prevails throughout Nepaul; where, however, although it did not fall within the particular observation of our traveller, we are disposed to suspect that the heresy of Budha bears very considerable sway.

"The inhabitants consist, principally, of the two superior classes of Hindus (or Brahmans and Chetis,) with their various subdivisions of Newars, of Dhenwars, of Mhanjees, of Bhootias, and of Bhanrās. The former of these, who compose the army of the state, and engross all situations of trust, whether civil or military, are found dispersed promiscuously throughout the country; the Newars are confined almost to the valley of Nepaul; the Dhenwars and Mhanjees are the husbandmen and fishers of the western districts; and the Bhootias, though some families of them are planted in the lower lands, occupy, generally speaking, such parts of the Kuchar* as are included in the Nepaul territories. With respect to the Bhanrās, they are a sort of separatists from the Newars, and are

* Or Tartarian border.

supposed to amount to about 5000: they shave their heads like the Bhootias, observe many of the religious rites as well as civil customs of these idolaters, in a dialect of whose language they are also said to preserve their sacred writings. To the eastward again, some districts of the Nepaul dominions are inhabited by tribes, such as the Limboos, Nuggerkootes, and others, of whom we know, at this time, little more than their names." p. 184.

The Newars, and Bhanrâs, and Bhootias, we suspect to be Budhas, or Jainas, or Mahimans, under local designations, and differing, in religious rites and tenets, from the southern people of the same fraternity.

"Between the Newars and the other Hindu inhabitants of Nepaul there subsist, as well in character, customs, manners, and features, as in religious rites and language, very essential differences, all of them abundantly proving that they are an insulated race of men, whose origin is not to be traced to any of the nations immediately surrounding them. They are a peaceable, industrious, and even ingenious people, very much attached to the superstition they profess, and tolerably reconciled to the chains imposed on them by their Goorkhali conquerors, although these have not hitherto condescended to conciliate them by the means which their former sovereigns, who were Rajepoots of the Soorej-bunsi* race, adopted, and who, among other compliances with the usages of the Newars, made no scruple, it seems, of feeding on the flesh of buffaloes." (P. 186.)

If there be no mistake, in this latter piece of information, it is in direct opposition to the usages of the more southern Baulhas, as is the following: "that the Newar women, like those among the Nairs, may have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretences." (P. 187.) General Kirkpatrick thinks the national physiognomy of the Nepaulians more resembling the Malays than the Chinese, and the well-executed portraits, as we presume them to be, which he has given, seem to confirm his opinion. Many of the women had a remarkable florid tint about their cheeks; but, generally, their complexion, like that of the men, is between a sallow and copper colour, notwithstanding which, some are asserted to be handsome.

Contrary to the usages of other Hindu people, water is not the common beverage among the tribe of Newars, of whom we see nothing tending to place them out of the comprehensive pale of the Hindu faith.

* This is a local and corrupt pronunciation of *Surya-vansa*, meaning offspring of the sun, or the solar race.

"They distil spirit from rice and other grains, and also prepare a fermented liquor from wheat, rice, &c. which they call Jhaur; it is made somewhat in the manner of our malt liquors, which it would appear to resemble, though, I fancy, from the accounts I have received of it, it is rather more intoxicating; the Newar peasants consider it as much in the light of a necessary of life as our hard-labouring people do porter." p. 210.

It is to us a new fact, that any tribe of Hindus, or even of East Indians, should use as a common beverage, or consider as a necessary of life, any thing but water. We suspect that the supposed insalubrity of the water in Nepal has induced this deviation from a very universal habit; for we find the natives, like those of other alpine regions, subject to the goitre. Amongst some more rational speculations, as to the cause of this endemic deformity, there is a local idea which, we think, will appear no less original than amusing, and of which the Nepaulians, no doubt, may boast the exclusive possession. It is that this guttural tumour, more than usually common in two particular towns, is

"An effect of imagination in their pregnant women, who, it seems, are constantly exposed to the disgusting sight presented by the protuberant pouches of the innumerable monkeys, with which an adjacent sacred grove swarms: sallying thence, these animals take possession, at pleasure, of the neighbouring houses, from which it would be an act of the greatest impiety to dislodge them forcibly." (P. 174.)

On the important point of eating, too, we find considerable relaxation in Nepal. The flesh of the buffalo is, by some *ingenuity*, not *esteemed to be beef*, and is accordingly eaten by the Newars, and, as observed in a preceding extract, by former sovereigns, who were necessarily of the second, or Kshetri grand division, as we suppose the Newars to be, or to have been, of the third, or Vaisya.

The Hindus of the higher tribes in Bengal and the more southern countries would revolt at the idea of eating the surighai, otherwise called the yak of Tartary, under which appellation it is described with a plate in the Asiatic Researches. Nor is the buffalo eaten in Hindustan, except by the lowest tribes; who, although fully recognized as Hindus, eat every thing edible, and allow a most comprehensive latitude, as great as the Chinese even, to the latter term. Not, however, that we subscribe to the opinion commonly prevalent, of the general abstinence of the Hindus from flesh meat and distilled drink. Brahmans certainly abstain from all intoxicating drink, and from eating beef; but they, though not universally nor under all circumstances,

legally eat fish, and the flesh of many animals. The second of the four grand divisions of the Hindus, the Khetri, or Kshetri, which is very extensive and numerous, (without, as far as we know, excepting any of its varied sectarial subdivisions,) indulge in animal food and strong drink. The second is the warrior class. Out of the third grand division, the Vaisya, or merchants, which is also entirely subdivided, we know of only one abstinent sect, this is the Bania, or Vania; and in this we have fancied such anomalies as have sometimes led us to suspect it to be a sort of connecting link between the heretical Baudha, and the orthodox Hindu; but our knowledge is at present too slight to warrant any positive asserption on this subject. The sect or tribe of Bania is not numerous, compared with some other of the Hindu subdivisions. All the Sudras, or labourers, being the fourth and last class, eat and drink pretty much as the like; abstaining however generally from beef. Allowing for several individual and local deviations, arising, in the first case, from habit, station, or enthusiasm, and in the latter, from an excess of these co-efficients, connected with political expediency, and the whole race of orthodox Hindus, from the Ganges to Ceylon, will come within the descriptive range of this paragraph.

General Kirkpatrick has not directly given such particulars of the religious observances that came within his notice or inquiry, as enable us to judge of the comparative prevalence of the sects of Hindus that now inhabit Khatmunda and its environs. Of Buddhism, under some of its forms, and differing possibly from all those hitherto described, as having obtained in Hindustan, we suspect the extensive existence. With regard to the more orthodox sects, which even now may be paramount, we recognize, in the nomenclature of rivers, temples, mountains, &c. the former predominancy of the sect of Saivabakht.

Sambha-nath is the name of a principal temple near the metropolis. Sambha is a name of Siva, but "at the foot of the steps is a colossal image in stone of the god Boudh (Budha), who is considered by some to be the lawgiver of the Bhootias or Tibetians, and to be the same as the Fo of the Chinese. The doctrines, however, usually attributed to Boudh, would appear to be so much at variance with many of the usages of the Bhootias, that this opinion is by no means to be hastily admitted; a reference alone to the Boudh Pouran itself can satisfactorily clear up this point, and happily such a reference is now no longer impracticable to the learned, as I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Nepal a copy of that rare and valuable manuscript." We should like to possess some farther

knowledge of this MS. of which we ought, indeed, to have heard less, or seen more. A Budha-purana is a novelty no doubt, but its value is not yet ascertained. Among the singularities of their religion, may be cited one from p. 196 of the work before us, where we have an account of a grand festival that occurs occasionally, which continues for four months. "It consists in visiting the shrines of all the gods in Nepaul, which are said to be two thousand, seven hundred, and thirty-three!"

To a lover of the poetry and allegory of the East, the following descriptions of scenery, and the legends to which its romantic nature has given rise, must be highly interesting.

"From the summit of Chandra-giri there is a most commanding prospect; the eye, from hence, not only expatiating on the waving valley of Nepaul, beautifully and thickly dotted with villages, and abundantly chequered with rich fields, fertilized by numerous meandering streams; but also embracing on every side a wide expanse of charmingly diversified country. It is the landscape in front, however, that here most powerfully attracts the attention; the scenery in this direction gradually rising to an amphitheatre, and successively exhibiting to the delighted view the cities and numberless temples of the valley below; the stupendous mountain of Sheopoori (Siva-puri); the still super-towering Jibjibia, clothed to its snow-capped peak, with pendulous forests; and finally the gigantic Himmaleh (Himalaya) forming the back ground of this wonderful and sublime picture." (P. 69.)

Himalaya, or the *mansion of snow*, personified, is the mythological father of Parvati, the consort of Siva. This vast alpine chain, generally named Himala, was called by the ancients Montes Parvati; Parvati also means a mountain; and we learn from General Kirkpatrick, that the mountaineers in Nepaul are appropriately denominated Purbutties (i. e. Parvatis). In the Puranas are many wild tales of the pastimes, and amours, and quarrels of Mahadeva and his consort Parvati, under various names; and the scene is sometimes laid in these snowy regions; so that Nepaul is with the Hindus classical ground, and pilgrims resort thither, and farther north, to spots sanctified by some tradition, either in propitiation of the deity there manifested, or in expiation of sin, incurred during the present or some earlier stage of existence. As to those extravagant tales of the Puranas, the probability is that physical facts are thus concealed under the veil of allegory carried through a series of poetical narratives and adventures, related of the personified attributes of the God of nature. The facts are either forgotten or unknown to the people; but the fables remain, and are throughout India generally and commonly alluded to in composition.

and conversation. "There are (General Kirkpatrick says, p. 303.) in these parts many natural grottoes or caves, which, it is to be remembered, were the favourite haunts of Mahadeo, and other Hindoo deities." Taken literally as the transactions of divine or holy persons, nothing can be more contemptible than these puranic romances; but if we desire to sift the grains of ore that the mass may probably contain, we must be content to examine them as they are; and in case of failure many inquisitive readers will deem their labour not lost, in the range of invention, and other poetical beauties abounding in the extravagant compositions of the Hindus.

Nilakantha, or the Blue-throated, (written Neel-khent by Gen. K.) the origin of which epithet we shall not stop here to explain, we find (pp. 128. 310.) to be, geographically, the "sacred source of the Trisul-ganga;" and we see the river mythologically represented in pictures springing from the head of this regenerating deity, the prevalence of whose worship in Nepaul is frequently marked by the names of his family and kindred.

The cold of Nilakantha, even in the month of August, is, we are told, (p. 314.) too severe to admit of the pilgrims resting there beyond a single day. Avalanches are common in this road, and sometimes exceedingly dangerous; glaciers, both of ice and frozen snow, occur also in various parts of this alpine region. When it is considered that Neel-khent is visited in July or August; that the road is then passable but with great difficulty, owing to the depths of snow lying on and at either side of it (but particularly in the hollows which border on it); that the traveller is subject to fresh and heavy falls at this time; that the mountain (Jibjibia) inclosing Neel-khent to the southward, or towards Nepaul, is covered with snow to a considerable depth, from its summit to about midway down on the Neel-khent side; and that this mountain is not situated in a higher latitude than 28°, we cannot suppose it to be less elevated than the Peak of Teneriffe. It is not extraordinary that the valley of Nepaul should be discernible from this eminence; but what must we conclude concerning the elevation of Himma-leh, when we consider that some of the peaks of this alpine region, which here appear interminable, and to be heaped upon one another, seem, according to the united testimony of several travellers, to be even higher from this point of view than Jibjibia itself does from Noakote or Nepaul.

The holy stone the Salagrama, of such mystical properties in propitiatory and expiatory sacrifices, is found in Nepaul; and we know not if in any other country: nor were we aware that the river in which these stones are exclusively found is, in that

part of its course where they most abound, called Salagrami; and that the name of Gandaki (or Gunduck, p. 298.), by which we have heretofore been accustomed to call it, is in Nepaul, "a general appellation for a river" (p. 298.), and not specifically applicable to that in question.

On the summit of a little mount in the valley of Nepaul is the temple, called Sumbhoonath, of which a beautiful engraving is given in the work before us. The first object that engages the attention on reaching the summit of Sumbhoo is a cylindrical structure of masonry, about breast high, and from two to three feet in diameter: over this work is placed a circular plate of brass, which is covered with various engraved figures and characters, and serves to sustain a gilt Bejjerbân, or thunderbolt of Indra, of *immense size*, but better corresponding to the figure of a double sceptre. "This singular fabric was erected to the Hindoo Jupiter about 115 years ago, by a Newar Rajah of Khatmanda." (P. 150.)

A representation of this "thunderbolt" and cylindrical structure is given in the title-page. We suspect that Bejjerban is rather a corruption of one of the names of Indra, than his sceptre or weapon. Vajra is the thunderbolt or lightning held or hurled by Indra, the regent of the firmament, who is hence named Vajra-pani. Nor doth the pretty engraving of the Vajra convey an idea of "immense size." We do not presume to determine the orthodox dimensions of a true thunderbolt, or the precise admeasurement of the sceptre of Indra; but as the supporting structure of masonry is only "from two to three feet in diameter," and as the article in question is "better corresponding to the figure of a double sceptre," it seems, than to a thunderbolt, and is in length but little more than half the diameter of the substructure; we do not think that the Hindu Jupiter can be justly accused of any thing inordinate in the dimensions of his thunderbolt.

This perhaps may appear to some an hyper-criticism: but we could not let pass the opportunity of expressing our disapprobation of the use of vague and indefinite terms in describing things within the reach of scale and compass, or, at any rate, of estimate sufficiently exact, with the qualification of *about*, to convey *some* idea of dimension. A thunderbolt of "immense size"—"the river tolerably wide," (p. 11.)—"a pine-tree of immense dimensions," (p. 43.)—"a hill tolerably high" (p. 107.), and similar terms, are, to say the least of them, indications of carelessness: and are often tantalizing to those who, being disposed to read much, desire to read profitably. It is doubtless better to leave such points indefinite than to give

erroneous measurements. We do not say that such is the case in the following instance, but there seems a mistake or misunderstanding somewhere, possibly on our part. General Kirkpatrick, describing the oval-shaped valley of Nepal, which he does in a very spirited and pleasing style, computes its smallest diameter at about nine miles, and its circuit at from forty to fifty. (P. 153.) In the panoramic view of this valley, Khatmanda the capital, and the hill and temple of Sumbhoo-nath, are placed immediately opposite to each other, having, of course, the whole diameter of the valley interposed. In page 147 we are told, that "during the single week that he resided in Nepal, his camp was pitched close to the east foot of Sumbhoo-nath, and not quite a mile distant from Khatmanda." This seems irreconcilable. On turning to Father Giuseppe's account (*Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. art. 17.), he describes the three principal cities in the "plain of Nepal" under the same names given by General Kirkpatrick, and manifestly means the "valley" of the latter; but says that "the circumference of the plain is about 200 miles." This dissonance, which, if the two accounts were compared, would be found not the only instance, rather confounds than assists us.

On the subjects of the history, literature, revenue, military strength, &c. of the Nepaulians we shall be brief: General Kirkpatrick having visited the country under circumstances very unfavourable to accuracy in such researches, and another work which may perhaps prove more satisfactory on these points, being, as we understand, in preparation. Of events that occurred one or two hundred years ago, the relations of Hindu history are generally obscure and contradictory; the dates even, when brought to the test of examination, are a tissue of confusion. But if we can be induced to go back two or three thousand years, we then find every thing *seemingly* very regular, and full and consonant. The Hindu historians are mostly poets; with such writers invention is easier than inquiry, and they arrive by the shortest route at the periods of fiction. On the learning of Nepal, we shall content ourselves with one extract of a nature curious and inviting.

"Time did not admit of my attending much to the state of learning among these people, yet the little information that it was in my power to acquire on the subject, disposes me to think that the Pundits of Nepal are not behindhand, in the branches of science usually cultivated by their fraternity, with those of any other Hindu country whatever. Astronomy, or rather its degenerate offspring, and ordinary companion among superstitious nations, judicial astrology, appears to be their favourite study, and has so deeply, as

well as undistinguishingly, infested every rank among them, that a stranger might be tempted to conclude that here the horoscope and ephemeris determined, in most cases, the line both of civil and moral conduct, and that the people, in short, were universally directed by their soothsayers. In fine, it is extremely probable that there is no place in India where a search after ancient and valuable Sanscrit manuscripts in every department of Brahminical learning would be more successful than in the valley of Nepal, and particularly at Bhatgong, which would seem to be the Benares of the Goorkhali territories. In support of this opinion I may observe, that I was credibly informed of a single private library in that city containing upwards of 15,000 volumes." (P. 220.)

That much of a curious nature might be extracted from this library it is but reasonable to expect, as well as something useful: but until such a man as Dr. Leyden of the Calcutta college can be prevailed upon to make a literary visit to Nepal, under circumstances of more confidence on the part of the rulers there than have heretofore been experienced, we must content ourselves with conjecture as to the contents of the Nepal libraries, and the state of literature in that country.

The three alphabets given by General Kirkpatrick are variations of the Deva-nagri: and the vocabularies of dialects current in Nepal contain many words common in Hindustan: the Newar apparently the fewest.

Of the military strength of Nepal we are taught to judge contemptuously—the strength of the country consists chiefly in the difficulty of access to the frontiers, and in interior impediments even should the frontier be penetrated: and its *safety* is chiefly to be ascribed to the military ignorance and unwarlike habits of its neighbours. Father Giuseppe, however, who was there in 1769, says, that "the King of Cathmandu has always about 50,000 soldiers in his service:"—but he saw the country in very troublesome times, and on this subject was very likely to be misinformed.

Recollecting that the information derived through the medium of this volume was collected nearly twenty years ago, we shall abstain from speculating on topics of a fluctuating or temporary nature. The objects of commerce are not of this description; and the importance of Nepal to us is chiefly, if not solely, connected with commercial considerations.

The treaty concluded in 1791 by Mr. Duncan, then resident at Benares, now governor of Bombay, between the Bengal and Nepal governments, has not, it would appear, been sufficient to secure those reciprocal advantages for which it seemed well calculated. A draft of an improved treaty as proposed to the

Regent of Nepaul is given in the appendix to the work before us. Whether or not it was ever agreed to we are ignorant; but it seems all-sufficient for the common benefit of the two states, and we conjecture, that either this or one similar to it was ratified; as, pursuant to one of its articles, we have of late years had a fixed, as well as an occasional, diplomatic officer at the court of Khatmanda.

The physical difficulties attending a commercial intercourse with Nepaul, although considerable, will yet be easily surmounted, compared with those of a political nature. It is not merely with Nepaul that we have to look for profitable barter: Tibet is a country peculiarly inviting to our mercantile speculations; and during the administration of Mr. Hastings, a fair opening appears to have offered for an improved intercourse. Its great elevation and coldness must render our woollens extremely desirable. The natives do, indeed, manufacture warm clothing; but so unskilfully, that to retain a comfortable temperament, a load of clothes is necessary, under which it is absolutely difficult to move. Such of the natives of Tibet as can afford it would assuredly purchase our woollens—among the richer, the finer kinds of flannels and thick broad-cloths would be in most request. The wealthy men of India are, as we know, in many parts, very desirous to procure our double cloths; that is, cloth of two colours, red on one side and blue or yellow on the other: a species of our manufacture, we will here observe in passing, that we are convinced might be profitably taken to India and China to a very considerable extent. It is but rarely seen in India, and always with high approbation. This is a manufacture very little known even to our countrymen, and we were once agreeably surprised upon seeing, at a manufacture in Gloucestershire, a beautiful specimen of this cloth for the Persian market. It is very expensive.

The shortest route to the eastern part of Tibet from Bengal is through Bootan, and from the government of the latter, in the absence especially of all commercial arrangement, serious impediments may be apprehended. Of all the varieties of ignorance conspicuous in the native governments of India, that in political economy is the greatest, and probably the most incorrigible. Although not altogether unacquainted with the advantages of protected commerce, a government will most contradictorily risk a prohibition by suddenly levying a heavy impost on an article in demand; looking no farther than the immediate amount of the duty, which by being farmed or given to some person to whom the rajah or minister may be in debt, or whom he may be disposed to favour, will generally be unjustly as well

as vexatiously levied. This is applicable to Bootan with respect to goods in transit from Bengal to the eastern parts of Tibet; and, indeed, generally to most other Indian governments; with whom an arrangement in the shape of a commercial treaty is a necessary preliminary to any extensive traffic in articles beyond those of the first necessity. Goods destined for the western parts of Tibet will pass through Nepaul; a rugged journey, though, on the whole, less so than through Bootan.

In exchange for our woollens and hard-ware, and Bengal goods, we might receive from Nepaul, Tibet, and Bootan, gold in dust and bars, timber, ivory, hides, wax, musk, antimony, and other drugs. In the infancy of this intercourse many difficulties would doubtless occur. The eradication of prejudices, or in other words, the removal of ignorance, will, perhaps, as in most other cases, be the greatest. Distance and difficulties of transit are obstacles of a serious nature, but more easily overcome than the ruggedness of men's minds. One circumstance, however, must not be omitted; which is, the necessity of guarding against the jealousy of the Chinese, who have of late years pretty openly assumed a paramount authority in Tibet, and even in Nepaul, although the distance and local circumstances of the latter render it less immediately obnoxious to Chinese interference,

It may seem a great distance for the conveyance of ship-timber, yet Nepaul may be looked to as a quarter to which Bengal, ill supplied in that article from its interior resources, may hereafter, and at no distant period, have occasion to resort.

"If I might venture (General Kirkpatrick observes) to form a judgment from the superficial view I had of West Turrye, I should be inclined to pronounce that it is capable of being rendered highly productive to the Nepaul government: its extensive forests contain an almost inexhaustible source of riches, since they might be made to supply with valuable timber, not only the countries washed by the Ganges, but even our other settlements in India. The pines of the Bechiacoti, and the saul-trees both of that and the Jhurjoory forest, are not surpassed in any other part of the world, either for straightness or dimensions, or probably for strength or durability. I had two cut down and floated from Seg-only to Calcutta, by way of sample; one of these spars measured 76, the other 73 feet. Mr. Gillet the shipwright has pronounced of them, that they promise to prove both strong and lasting, and means to give them a trial in a ship which he is about to launch. They had felled a couple of immense dimensions, in girth as well as in length, but were afterwards unable to move them. Those examined by Mr. Gillet will work about a foot in diameter." (P. 43.)

If they would work a cubic foot in a length of 70 feet, they

were, indeed, respectable timber; and this we take to be the author's meaning, for in page 33 he speaks of a fir or pine felled in the Bechiacori forest, "measuring 90 feet clear of the branches, and not less than eight feet in the girth."

"The Bechiacori pines, nevertheless, seem never to have had an axe applied to them, though they grow in prodigious numbers, are very superior to what we generally meet with in Nepal Proper; and, considering the vicinity of the Boora-gunduck, might be conveyed to us both with little trouble and with little expence, compared to the channel by which we are at present supplied with this useful article, and the cost at which it is procured. Besides timber for masts and yards, we could draw from hence whatever supplies of pitch, tar, and turpentine we required. Kota, or pure turpentine of the sulle pine, may be procured, I believe, even in Nepal, at the rate of ten *seers* per rupee; and a tree will yield, I have been told, for eight or ten years together, about three *maunds* annually*. Neither the tar of America nor the pine spars from thence would appear to be in much estimation in India; though for want of better I suppose, we take off, it is said, from the American traders considerable quantities of both at high price." (P. 43.)

That the information and reasoning contained in the preceding paragraph is of great and growing importance is undeniable. It is very clear that we enrich our rivals and enemies by purchasing from them lumber and various articles, that are, or might be, produced abundantly in our own colonies, or obtained by commercial interchange with friendly states in their neighbourhood. That the Gangetic provinces, British and foreign, are capable of furnishing large quantities of pine, timber, tar, &c. has been long recorded in the minutes of council at Fort William. We have already observed that Sir Robert Barker, though in some respects inaccurately, pointed out the resources to Lord Clive so far back as 1776, but we are not informed that they have been resorted to. We are disposed to conclude in the negative, from the quantities of those articles *sent to India* both by the East-India Company, and by private speculators; to the extent of lumbering, in a very inconvenient degree, the ships so uselessly employed in transporting them. Cordage sufficient for both the military and commercial marine of India, if not for the whole British navy, better and cheaper than that made in Eng-

* The *man*, or *maund*, as it is commonly called, differs very much in different parts of India; and even at the same place the *man* has various weights and distinctions. The Bengal factory *maund* is 74lb. 10oz. avoirdupois. A Bengal *bazar* *maund* 10 per cent. more, or 82lb. 2oz. The *seer* also varies—it may be reckoned at 11lb. 13oz. avoirdupois; 40 *seers* are a *maund*. Hence the price of turpentine in Nepal, as given in the text, was about fifteen shillings the hundred weight.

land from Baltic hemp, can be manufactured in India from its own resources; but cordage is sent thither from England and America. How is this to be accounted for? Is it supineness, or does it originate in interest and patronage? Formerly, indeed, (to descend to trifles) when the dispensaries of our Indian hospitals overflowed with re-imported castor oil (the shrub whence it is expressed growing in India, as thistles *did* in Scotland), ignorant people marvelled, till they were told that the brother of the CHAIR was apothecary to the company. When, (passing over matters of mediocrity, and proceeding at once to the other extreme,) the arsenals groaned under the load of guns, shot, and shells, of a certain calibre, that would suffice for a war of ten centuries with all Asia, it was suspected that some powerful person was connected with the Carron, or some other foundry. When shipping to an enormous amount of tonnage, and at a ruinous rate of freight, was seen engaged to carry out such things as were not, or ought not to be wanted, and to bring home others that were in no demand, and on every cargo of which certain loss accrued to the Company; it was significantly said that the shipping interest was all-powerful. This course of allusion might be extended to a length apparently invidious; but we speak of the days of other years, and may, perhaps, be told that no such usages now exist. Be this as it may, we cannot help observing that the information above alluded to did long moulder on the shelves of our Indian government, and that proper measures, directed by due energy, might have rendered us at this time, and *may still render us*, independent of the northern states of Europe. We know not what has been done towards the attainment of this important object during the mission of Captain Knox, which was subsequent to that of General Kirkpatrick; but we have no doubt concerning the main facts of the existence and accessibility of these stores; and we do most urgently call upon the Indian government to do their duty with respect to them.

General Kirkpatrick demonstrates the practicability of bringing Nepaul timber to the Hoogley, mostly, if not wholly, by water. The note that we have quoted is indeed a practical proof of the fact; for although Segowly be not in Nepaul, it is immediately on its frontier, and contiguous to a great river which receives several respectable streams directly from the neighbourhood of the forests, and communicates, in a course sufficiently equable, with the large rivers of Bengal.

It was with considerable surprise that we read in General Kirkpatrick's work the description of a *water-grist mill* in Nepaul. It is thus noticed:—"Here is a grist mill, turned by a

torrent which after tumbling for a short space over some huge rocks, mingles"— &c. &c. "the diameter of the mill-stone did not exceed two feet and a half, and the whole of this machine was of the simplest construction, as they are every where in this country, in which I understand they are very common; the stream that turned it, though it descended rapidly, was not above two feet broad." (P. 112.)

We know of water-mills, both with over and undershot wheels, in China, but do not recollect a description of any such machines for the abridgment of human labour in India; and we wish some further notice had been taken of their extensive existence in Nepaul, and that their construction was more particularly described. Religion travelled rapidly from India to China, and machinery seems creeping through Nepaul in a contrary direction. Few objects of contemplation can be more singular than the comparison of the products of Hindu industry with their total neglect of machinery, and their awkward implements of labour. Let any one examine their ivory toys, their musliins, or that chef d'œuvre of useless ingenuity, the succession of carved ivory balls contained one within the other, yet without any suture to betray the mode of their insertion, and he would suppose them the products of the most delicate and finished machinery. Yet are they in fact nothing more than the effect of patient manipulation, operating with the clumsiest instruments.

The Hindûs seem to have completely inverted the ordinary progress of ingenuity, from the agent to the subject acted upon. Instead of the regular gradations through the coarse muscular energy and obtuse extremities of the hand, to the refined and delicate instrument of art, their genius works upwards as it were, through the gross and clumsy tool to the elegant and effeminate hand:—at least the progress of perfection would stop at the hand, were it not intense enough to infuse a portion of its excellence through an implement otherwise inert and useless. The finest European lady would look with envy on the beautiful symmetry and dainty littleness of the coarsest hand of India.

We have seen rather a small-handed European attempt to grasp the sword of the late Tippoo Sultan, which was by no means a childish implement as to weight. He could barely insert his three fingers into the handle; yet upon casing himself in the helmet and coat of mail of that usurper, the weight would have prevented him from walking an hundred yards. But to return to the subject of the coarser machinery. Wheels for raising water, turned sometimes by oxen, but more generally by men, are common throughout India; but beyond this we cannot

call to our recollection a description by any of our oriental travellers, of a *machine* of any sort, properly so called, in use among the natives of that extensive country; for the wheel, although so generally applied to raising water, is never, so far as we know, extended to breaking corn. There is not, probably, throughout British India a wind or water grist mill*; nor until we read the passage last quoted did we know where to look for one in any of the contiguous countries. We do, indeed, recollect to have heard something of a water-mill near Poona; but have no particulars respecting it.

How then, it may be naturally inquired, is corn ground sufficient for such an immense population, living chiefly on farinaceous food? The question is easily answered, and the answer involves some points that in their discussion may lead to substitutions susceptible of profitable application in England, and its less remote dependencies.

A majority of Indian families have a domestic hand mill. If too poor to possess one, (although it is a piece of furniture of very easy acquisition), it is borrowed or hired of a neighbour; the borrower either resorting with her corn, if the quantity be small, to the lender, who often lends help also, or bringing home the implement, as may be most expedient. A portion of the flour is given to the owner of the mill, regard being of course had to the extent of the loan, and of the personal aid afforded. The work is almost exclusively performed by women.

It has been suggested that the introduction of hand mills into England would be beneficial; and impressed with this idea, a

* Formerly there was a common post windmill in Bombay, which was contemplated with wonder by the natives; but it had, we believe, been long in disuse, and is now taken down. While conveniently contributing to the sustenance of human life, the windmill at Bombay was the common resort of those disposed to shorten its duration. Twenty or thirty years back a ship seldom arrived from Europe without importing, in the shape of writers, cadets, or mates, one pair at least of angry spirits so disposed; and the evolutions incident to such *rencontres* excited the just amazement of the natives, equally with the unaccountable motions of the contiguous machine; for duelling is in as little use among the natives of India as windmills. "*Behind the windmill*" was a phrase of ominous import. Nor is it impossible, that in the easy mind of some innocent native, the *equally strange* actions of the men and the mill may have been somehow whimsically associated. He may, if mythologically contemplative, have fancied the one a temple in honour of Pavann, the regent of winds; and the other a deprecatory sacrifice, especially in the S.W. monsoon, to that potent deity. An inhabitant of Poona lately amused us with an association almost as ridiculous: having visited Bombay, he described something in the neighbourhood of the church, as being "near the clock;" and assuredly conceived that the extensive and ponderous pile was built for receiving and supporting the useful appendage to the steeple, so seldom, if at all elsewhere, seen in India, a public or town clock. That in Bombay is much admired by native visitors, to whom it appears a very strange sort of a thing.

gentleman of high rank and acquirements some years back brought with him from India several of these simple implements, and deposited them, as we understand, in charge of the Bath and West of England Society. Without entering into the discussion of their eventual utility in England, we shall merely observe that it is not unusual for ships in the Indian seas to take no store flour, but to grind corn daily as wanted; and this, as we have been assured by a nautical friend, was attended with very considerable advantage in regard to the freshness of the flour, and the economy of the measure. It would, perhaps, be applicable to our royal navy and East and West-India shipping. Armies in the field in India are supplied with corn in this way. Many persons obtain a livelihood by carrying about a mill on an ass, and letting it out to individuals of the lower orders with assistance to grind their corn. The women in camp do this work, while the men are pursuing their avocations. Sepoys not uncommonly take with them into the field their domestic mill; and it is found to answer well if the wife be active and industrious. It is usual to sing while at work; the stave is short and plaintive, beginning and ending very abruptly, and when sung during the night, a time often chosen for the purpose, is exceedingly expressive, and awakens feelings that may remind the hearer of the Boatman's song of the western highlanders of Scotland, or the melancholy ditty of the rope-makers in the Peak of Derbyshire.

“ With easy force it opens all the cells

Where memory slept. Wherever I have heard

A kindred melody, the scene recurs,

And with it all its pleasures and its pains. COWPER.

There is an appendix attached to the volume before us, containing an account of the diplomatic intercourse between the great men of Nepaul, and General (then Captain) Kirkpatrick. The Oriental ministers exhibited a *polite hostility*, and a refined duplicity, that would really have been esteemed very creditable to European diplomatists; they turned the envoy out of their country in a few weeks with all the rules of friendship and good breeding, and even obliged him to solicit his own dismissal, and one and all expressed the *greatest regret* at his early departure. This appendix also contains one fact calculated to throw some light on the distance and facilities of intercourse between China and Nepaul: an embassy, consisting of several persons with presents, was deputed to the Emperor of Pekin, and arrived at that court in the sixth month from their departure from Nepaul. They remained at Pekin forty-five days, and were admitted to fifteen audiences; and being then dismissed with presents, returned to

their own court within fourteen months from the day of their departure.

The last original paper in the appendix is an able memoir by General Kirkpatrick, on the general commercial advantages that would flow from a facility of intercourse with Nepaul. The prospects held out appear to us very far from chimerical; and we trust that the Indian government will at length summon to their counsels energy enough to reap the profit that has been so long uselessly suspended within their grasp.

ART. XV. *Memoirs of the latter Years of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.* By John Bernard Trotter, Esq. late private Secretary to Mr. Fox. London: Richard Phillips.

ROMANTIC, alas! are the hopes of reviewers, if they flatter themselves that by their severest animadversions they can correct the passion for scribbling, or the extravagancies of authorship. In our review of Serjeant Heywood's *Vindication of Mr. Fox's History* in our last number, we took occasion to remark upon the mischief of outrageous panegyric; and the loss to the fund of instructive examples, when officious friendship, or party zeal, anticipate the award of dispassionate history. The flatulent eulogy of the book before us has set all our remonstrances at defiance. Instead of Charles James Fox, with whose career, early and late, we are most of us so well acquainted, we might have imagined Mr. Trotter, had he suppressed the mention of his hero's name and of contemporary persons and occurrences, to have been drawing the character of one of those saints upon earth

quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vitæ, patientes ætheris imi
Fecit, et æternos animas collegit in orbes.

In the number of our review before alluded to, we have endeavoured to rescue the posthumous fame of Mr. Fox from that indiscreet excess of praise, which, if living, he would have disclaimed indignantly, if a tenth part of it was his due; for a manly mind is insulted by that praise which belongs only to perfection. We cannot help, therefore, discovering some impatience when we perceive that our endeavours have been so little successful: that while, on the one hand, the newspapers are full of menacing advertisements of fresh accumulations on the unfortunate memory of Mr. Fox, of collections upon collections,

selections from collections, and collections of selections; Mr. Trotter, on the other, is plying us from a magazine, which we dare not hope to see exhausted, as long as one laudatory superlative is left in the language. We wish, with all our hearts, we could by any friendly admonitions of ours persuade Mr. Trotter to acquiesce in his total want of faculty for the task of composition, and to shew his respect for his friend's memory by letting it alone at least for the future. We were consoled by a passage in his preface, in which he tells us that the early part of Mr. Fox's life must at present remain a desideratum, but under the head of *errata* he has announced an intention of following up this present specimen with the entire public life of Mr. Fox, so that it looks as if he really meant to give regular work to the reviewers.

As Mr. Trotter proceeds in his work he grows in confidence. In page 16 he laments the nation's ingratitude in leaving Mr. Fox's memory without a monument, and declares his intention to do his best to supply the deficiency, by enabling posterity to appreciate the private character of that most calumniated of men.

Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo,
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones.

Having entered upon his task at the call of friendship, his genius is kindled at its sacred fire, a sort of inspiration seems to carry him on with exulting anticipation, until at length in the 474th page of his work, he fairly tells us in a strain of rapturous egotism, that he writes for mankind and posterity. We perform with reluctance, after all this, the duty of telling him, that his work will neither instruct mankind, nor reach posterity; and that to the extent to which political curiosity may give it circulation, its tendency is, in our judgement, to lower the character of Mr. Fox, and thus to frustrate the benignant purpose of its author.

We were not a little amused with Mr. Trotter's table of the contents of his chapters, in which we think we trace very obviously the effect of a great familiarity with novels, contracted in the service of Mr. Fox, who seems to have very much exercised the lungs of his private secretary in this instructive sort of reading, even in his dying days. Our readers will judge whether he has not successfully imitated, in this respect, the manner of Fielding and Smollet. We shall make rather a large extract from this part of the work, because we think it will give the intelligent reader

a tolerable idea of the author's plan, and of the general spirit of the work.

"PART I. CHAP. XVI.—Rumours of war—Amiable disposition of the French—Dinner at Berthier's—Berthier—Massena—Bougainville—Volney—Conclusion of labours at the Archives—Mr. Fox's historical fragment—Its immaturity—Researches at Paris not incorporated—Author's opinions of the noble Editor—Description of Mr. Fox's labours at the Archives—The grand opera—Lawyers disagreeable every where—Notre dame—Pantheon—Another consular levee—Bonaparte's repeated questions.

"PART II. CHAP. IV.—First announcement of illness—The *Æneid*—Dido—His sympathetic conduct at Holland-House—Increase of Disease—Exercise—Lord Fitzwilliam—His excellent character—The Prince of Wales—His endearing attentions—Duke of Clarence—Duke of York—Miss Fox—Mrs. Fox—Crabbe's Poems—Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Grattan—Operation of Tapping—Derangement of the negotiation with France—Lord Lauderdale—Duke of Devonshire—Removal to Chiswick-House—His portrait there—Employments—Exercise—Return of Pittite feelings.

"CHAP. VI.—Operation useless—Author and Mrs. Fox in constant attendance—Johnson's Lives of the Poets—Dryden—Lord Holland—General Fitzpatrick—Miss Fox—Her character—Alarming symptoms—Solemnity of the Author's duty—Last employments of Mr. Fox—The Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room—Awful impressions—Patience of Mr. Fox—No causes for self-reproach.

"MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS.—Event accompanying his death—His countenance after death—Chest taken from his face—Embalming—His religious opinions—The immortality of the soul—Resignation to Providence—Dr. Parr's work—His body opened—Observations thereon—Digitalis—His ideas of burial—His last wishes—A public funeral resolved on—Vast concourse of mourners—Their character and affecting conduct—The procession to Westminster—Sympathy of the people—His grave—Reflections and anguish of the Author."

Now if our author shall ever carry into execution his projected plan of writing the entire history of Mr. Fox, he will probably proceed with the same minuteness, and then we shall have an introductory chapter, the contents of which may be thus anticipated:

CHAP. I.—Infantine anecdotes of Mr. Fox—Tuneful crying—Nurse—Danger of Dalby's Carminative—Retrospects of the Author—Rattles—Prognostics—Sugar-plums—Lullabies—Anxieties—Reflections of the author.

We are strongly put in mind by Mr. Trotter's table of contents of the humorous satyrist of the celebrated Mr. Norris's *Theory of the intelligible World*, calling himself Gabriel John, who writes what he calls a preface, a postscript, and something

between the two. His table of the contents of the 29th chapter is as follows :

CHAP. XXIX.—Of a wicked world and sad times. Of the present tense, infallibility, Pope Joan, Queen Dick, and Alexander the Great. Of the golden age, Formosa, China, and Peru. Of fashion, faction, weathercocks, and chronologers. Epic poems, dreams, and hard beds. Of the philosopher's stone, robbing church-yards, Colchester oysters, antiquity, hour-glasses, Doctor's Commons, extremes, envy, distance, microcosm, and complaints.

In making these observations on the table of contents to Mr. Trotter's work, we are not unware that an author sometimes leaves this part of his work to his bookseller, and that it is too apt to be treated by both as a mere mechanical labour ; that this is the case, in the present instance, we are willing to suppose.

Our curiosity to visit the interior of the temple in which Mr. Fox was to be enshrined by his faithful votary, could not be repelled by the grotesque deformities and idle appendages that disfigured the porch. Mr. Fox was never to us an object of idolatry: nevertheless, to the artist that could give us his resemblance with characteristic force we should be ready to pay our acknowledgments, and allow for the vanity of display, and the embellishments of fancy. But we really think that this attempt to deify Mr. Fox has so completely failed of success, that it has reduced him below his real rank among men. It has been usual in this sort of domestic biography of great persons, written by those who have had access to them in their hours of privacy, and who have composed a part of their family circle, to make them in a manner the painters of their own portraits, by recording their sentiments and observations as they dropped from them in their careless and happy hours of relaxation from business :—in those hours when, though apparently least solemn, they are often most in earnest ; and, discarding the fopperies of grandeur, take a wholesome view of their real condition.

We do not recollect, however, that Mr. Trotter has given us these practical means of judging of Mr. Fox's intellectual and social qualities in private life. No maxims or memorable sayings, no practical observations on manners, professions, characters, or events, no opinions delivered in companies, small or great, no desultory talk or vivacious expressions, neither the dress or deshabelle of the fancy, neither the transient impressions, nor the treasured wisdom, are here exhibited, of the extraordinary person whose most interesting and characteristic moments are undertaken to be recorded. That there was much of all this displayed by Mr. Fox we are perpetually assured.

In page 183 we are told, that if Mr. Fox's reflections and observations were given to the public in a perfect state, they would be invaluable. That this may be so we do not dispute, but as far as Mr. Trotter's book is evidence of this, the fact rests upon his simple assertion. The reader may account or the omission as he pleases; for ourselves we pretend not to say whether it is to be ascribed to the general effulgence of Mr. Fox's character, which obliterated all these minuter graces, and prevented them from making their distinct impressions, or to grief, that could not bear to retrace so many subjects of tender regret, or to an opinion that a profane world was unworthy of revelations so pure and so sublime.

But whatever was the style of conversation during this journey, which, if we take it upon the assertion of Mr. Trotter, was very wonderful; this much appears very clear, that the whole party was in excellent humour, and in the best disposition in the world to enjoy every thing they saw, from the *pellucid and blue waters* of the Seine as it flows through the streets of Paris, to the *well-made pancakes* of Breda.

The author appears really to be an extremely good-natured man, in respect to every thing, and every person, except poor Mr. Pitt, whose memory he loads with great abuse. Every thing in his journey to Paris he finds enchanting. The radiance of Mr. Fox's perfections gave a brilliancy to every scene, and every occurrence. The delightful consciousness of being in his company seems to have kept him wound up to an exstastic pitch of mental exultation. Nothing could displease. The days seemed all to be fine, the country always picturesque, the people all happy and the very cattle full of glee. Ghent, which to our eyes some years ago, when we travelled through it, seemed a very dull and dirty town, with narrow streets, rises, under Mr. Trotter's descriptive powers, into a large magnificent place, with grand and venerable edifices. Beyond Ghent a rich and noble country presented itself. Every thing was correspondent, nothing to shock the eye, no miserable mansion, no wretched family to distress the feelings, clean farms, cattle in abundance, golden harvests, and smiling plains, Mr. Fox full of complacency, Mr. Trotter full of delight. In this manner did this happy group pass through a part of Holland, and Dutch and French Netherlands, till at length they arrived at Paris, the place of Mr. Fox's destination. The same good humour, the same optimism, still accompany them. The very waters of the Seine are purified, (page 235). The very cruelties of Buonaparte are denied, (page 187). And Mr. Trotter discovers the French to be full of sincerity, friendship, feeling, and discrimination, (page 347. 406.)

The same fascination of good humour and gaiety must necessarily have played round the heart of Mr. Fox, and brought every thing to his eye divested of its disgusting features. How else could this champion of the democratic parts of our constitution, the friend of freedom and humanity, the patriotic victim of the court, the mirror of whiggism, the idol of Palace-Yard, condescend to wait, in the antichamber of the tyrant, the summons to his detestable presence, to enter into familiar conversation with an usurping murderer, and accept the hospitalities of one whose power of entertaining him was derived from the destruction of every hope of liberty that the revolution had excited—that revolution which Mr. Fox had hailed with such glowing predictions, such ardent emotions, in the British senate; and to the defence of which he had made the costly sacrifice of his highest political friendships. It must be recollected too, that, while Mr. Fox and his friends were paying their duties to the tyrant, Toussaint and his children were expiring with famine in their dungeons; and daily dispatches were announcing fresh massacres of the Swiss, in their hapless villages, their rural homes, and their innocent valleys. As reviewers we can of course have but small pretensions to sensibility; yet why do the tears half blot out the words as we write them, but because “we have real hearts of flesh and blood beating in our bosoms,” without one drop of the leper’s distilment of party rancour, or revolutionary philosophy!

We join hand and heart with Mr. Trotter in his admiration of the many sweet ingredients in Mr. Fox’s temper; we love the picture of his retirement at St. Ann’s Hill; his simple pleasures,* his rural passion, his domestic affections, charm us into a momentary forgetfulness of what, when we think of it, we can never approve, without giving up the cause of truth and virtue, in his moral and political conduct. Good nature, when coupled with great understanding, is, in our estimation, doubled in price; but it assumes the air of mere facility, or something worse,—of an indifference to the distinctions of character in others, when it stretches its tolerance to such a man as the present emperor of the French, and the wretched instruments of his ferocious ambition. To the weight of this objection Mr. Trotter seems not to be insensible. He has made an effort to avert it; but to succeed in such a defence would require abilities like those of Mr. Fox himself, exerted before judges as prejudiced as Mr. Trotter.

* We shall be pardoned for our adoption of this phrase here by those who perhaps have sneered at the application we have made of it in the first article of this number.

We will allow a good deal for Mr. Trotter's prejudice, if he will make the same allowances for our old-fashioned morality. But if Mr. Trotter's theory of morals is very different from ours, we are afraid we shall not be brought nearer to a general agreement, by a comparison of our views of religion. God knows, it is not our desire to enter into this part of Mr. Fox's character. Every man has occasion for so much self-examination in respect to the religious state of his mind, that time enough is scarcely allowed him for the examination of others; and the exercise of uncharitableness, on the subject of religion, is like seething the kid in the milk of its mother. We shall, for fear of erring in these respects, abstain from all consideration of the question, whether Mr. Fox's religion was the religion of the Scriptures; but we may without offence or presumption consider, how far the evidences, on which the biographer builds his inference of the pure christianity of Mr. Fox, are satisfactory. First then he offers a sort of reasoning *à posteriori* to prove this fact. Mr. Fox, it is said, was humane, forgiving, candid, patient, and humble; and by these facts, which we are in no disposition to controvert, the orthodoxy of Mr. Fox is considered as being established. It can hardly be necessary for us to do any thing more than to state the proposition, in order to confute it. The uniform display of such divine characteristics would certainly lead to the supposition, that the man in whom they were found had profited by those precepts and principles which could scarcely have had existence, had not the doctrines of christianity been revealed to the world; for that all our best morality comes to us from this source, and that multitudes are benefited by it, without any sense of the obligation, there can be little doubt. But to call a man a good christian, on the strength of his maintaining a conduct conformable to its precepts, would be as rational as to maintain that a man is a good lawyer, because his conduct is agreeable to the institutions of his country. But admitting that the moral conduct of an individual may happen to be regulated with *immediate* reference to the christian dispensation, how would this prove his faith in its peculiar doctrines, without which we do not demonstrate an obedience to the Saviour of mankind, on any higher foundation than that on which we ground our veneration for Socrates or Plato.

But after all, we have not many specimens even of this practical sort produced to us by the author, to manifest the christian-like character of Mr. Fox. Mr. Trotter, however, sees deeper than we do. He discerns indubitable proofs of these rare qualities in Mr. Fox, in the single circumstance of his in-

viting Mr. Trotter to be of the party, in the intended tour to France. This instance of what he calls "active beneficence" (p. 31.) filled him, he says, with grateful surprise:—which is, indeed, so modest an expression, that we cannot but greatly commend it. But this is not the only inference which the grateful mind of Mr. Trotter draws from it. He seems to consider it as among the instances "of the practical homage paid to the Deity," as he expresses it, "by that great and *christian* character." His gratitude and admiration thus break forth: "Reader, such a character was Mr. Fox! To raise up the neglected, and to aid those whom scanty means might keep pining at home, or languishing in obscurity, was his bright characteristic. The practical homage paid to the Deity by this great and *christian* character, was to cheer the afflicted, and elevate the oppressed."

But Mr. Trotter's proofs of the Christianity of his great friend and patron do not stop here. What seems to have put it out of all doubt in his mind, was his adopting the fine picture of the St. Jerome of Dominichino, as his favourite among all the paintings at the Louvr. He considers this as so complete a refutation of the charge of his being, as he expresses it, but *slightly* tinctured with religion, that he thus triumphantly proceeds:

"Often has Mr. Fox stood admiring this noble production;—often and often has he returned to view it, and again was I myself induced to consider how much, and in every way, had this great man been misrepresented. He who had been held forth as devoid of principle, a revolutionist, and contemner of civil and religious establishments, was here, unaffectedly, bestowing his warmest admiration upon the affecting representation of the celebration of the most sacred of christian rites. I myself felt some surprise, though without reason, unless that the impressions made upon the public in England to Mr. Fox's disadvantage had imperceptibly taken possession of my mind, and that I had, unawares to myself, conceived that he was but very slightly tinctured with religious feeling."

After such unanswerable proofs of the orthodoxy of Mr. Fox, one can scarcely wonder, that, in describing the departing scene of his existence, his memorialist should borrow for him the words of Addison to the young Lord Warwick, "See how a christian can die!" and declare that "if the beautiful Scripture expression, *Lord, let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his*, was ever more strongly exemplified in one instance than another, it was at the last moments of Mr. Fox."

These scenes are, indeed, truly awful to a mind of sober reflection, and, more especially, of such devout feelings as those which Mr. Trotter seems to possess. Mr. Trotter's impressions were doubtless greatly deepened by personal friendship, the tender agonies of the friends and relatives of the dying patriot, and the very *religio loci* of the situation. Neither do we forget the sorrowing reflections of the author in the dressing-room of the late Duchess of Devonshire. But what hearts must we appear to such a son of sensibility to possess, when we frankly assure him, that we experienced a perfect apathy during the perusal of his emotion, in this same magical dressing-room. Far other sensations were those with which we formerly read the touching and tender description, in Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, of the apartments wherein the Marchioness de Villeroi died. We cannot refrain from laying before the reader the parallel passages, that he may derive instruction from the comparison, and at the same time form an opinion for himself on the probability of Mr. Trotter's having described the duchess's dressing-room with a very lively impression on his mind of the closet of the marchioness. "In this closet were many memorials of the departed marchioness; a robe and several articles of her dress were scattered upon the chairs, as if they had just been thrown off. On the floor were a pair of black satin slippers, and on the dressing-table a pair of gloves, and a long black veil, which, as Emily took it up to examine, she perceived was dropping to pieces with age. 'Ah!' said Dorothée, observing the veil, 'my lady's hand laid it there; it has never been moved since!' Emily, shuddering, immediately laid it down again. 'I well remember seeing her take it off,' said Dorothée; 'it was on the night before her death, when she had returned from a little walk I had persuaded her to take in the garden, and she seemed refreshed by it. I told her how much better she looked, and I remember what a languid smile she gave me.' Emily laid the veil again on the dressing-table, and surveyed the closet, where every object on which her eye fixed seemed to speak of the marchioness. In a large oriel window of painted glass stood a table with a silver crucifix, and a prayer-book open; and Emily remembered with emotion what Dorothée had mentioned concerning her custom of playing on her lute in this window, before she observed the lute itself lying on a corner of the table, as if it had been carelessly placed there by the hand that had so often awakened it. 'This is a sad forlorn place,' said Dorothée, 'for when my dear lady died, I had no heart to put it

to rights, or the chamber either, and my lord never came into the rooms after, so they remain just as they were.' Now for Mr. Trotter, and the dressing-room of the amiable duchess.

"I continued to read aloud every night, and as he occasionally dropt asleep, I was then left to the awful meditations incident to such a situation; no person was awake besides myself; the lofty rooms and hall of Chiswick House were silent, and the world reposed. In one of those melancholy pauses, I walked about for a few minutes, and found myself involuntarily and accidentally in the late Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room,—every thing was as that amiable and accomplished lady had left it. The music book still open;—the books not restored to their places,—a chair, as if she had but just left it, and every mark of a recent inhabitant in this elegant apartment.—The duchess had died in May, and Mr. Fox had very severely felt her loss. Half opened notes lay scattered about. The night was solemn and still; and at that moment, had some floating sound of music vibrated through the air, I cannot tell to what my feelings would have been wrought. Never had I experienced so strong a sensation of the transitory nature of life, of the vanity of a fleeting world. I stood scarce breathing—heard nothing,—listened,—death and disease in all their terrific forms marshalled themselves before me;—the tomb yawned—and, oh, God! what a pang was it, that it was opening for him whom I had hoped to see enjoying many happy years, and declining in the fulness of his glory into the vale of years."

Without these concomitant circumstances to prompt our feelings, we look back on the crisis of Mr. Fox's departure with piteous, awful, and trembling sensations. That he was a great man is undeniable; that God had given him an extraordinary measure of capacity to discern between good and evil, and had made him steward over vast intellectual treasures, none will dispute; that with such clear unclouded perceptions, he frequently thought in silence on the saving promises, and the sublime mysteries of that revelation, which had approved itself to the wisdom and research of Bacon, Newton, and Locke, we cannot doubt; but really Mr. Trotter must permit us to wonder, and the surviving friends of Mr. Fox must permit us to regret, that the death-bed scene of that great person should have so little in it like that of an expiring professor of the christian faith, or like the departures of Socrates, or Cyrus, or even like those of Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, or Mr. Pitt.

A christian in heart, and soul, and sound belief, gives up this world in humble trust, and holy hope, of a better, and trembling on the verge of the stupendous change, eagerly strives to stretch his thoughts beyond the bounds of the present existence, that

he may be the better prepared to meet his judge in another. What were the secret meditations of Mr. Fox's mind we presume not to conjecture; but Mr. Trotter must pity our weakness when we fairly confess, that if we were asked whether Mr. Fox's death was like the death of the righteous, we should answer we know not, but we presume to think that any occupation was more characteristic of a Christian in such circumstances than listening to an epic poem (426. 419. 424.), or a novel, or the poetry of the Dean of St. Patrick.

In the concluding chapter of the work the author has given his opinion on the expediency of administering digitalis to the expiring statesman. But there are two objections to what he says on this subject. The physicians positively deny the fact, and, therefore, no doubt can exist of the inaccuracy of Mr. Trotter in that respect; and they complain of the statement as needlessly raising a question of great delicacy in relation to medical practice and character.

With respect to the warrantableness of putting to hazard the feeble remnant of Mr. Fox's life by medicines of strong operation, but of dubious result, the determination of the question must depend upon the grounds of expectation and probability afforded by the case, all circumstances being duly taken into consideration; but we must own that we do not think with Mr. Trotter, that there was such extraordinary value, in a national view, in the small spark of vitality which remained to Mr. Fox when that which Mr. Trotter took for digitalis was administered, that the fear of putting it to hazard should deter the physician from trying the success of a medicine of decisive operation. That Mr. Fox was at that time in such circumstances as to leave it within the compass of hope, that intervals of ease would have been allowed him to make what Mr. Trotter terms a political testament, or to have directed the operations of government, or to have collected and revised the scattered leaves of his History, seems far from having been the case; therefore, in a national view, the protraction of his painful existence does not appear to have been so very desirable. But if Mr. Fox had any accounts with his conscience and his God to settle—if the history of his own life, and not that of James the Second, was to pass under his mental review—if instead of foreign politics, the peace of his own soul was in a train of silent negotiation, and penitence and prayer were consummating that righteous end, which in Mr. Trotter's opinion was the true description of his departure, we humbly think, that every moment which the skill of physicians could have added to that perishing tenure of mortality which seemed yet to remain to him, would have been of inestimable

price to himself, however little useful to the rest of mankind. We have conscientiously read through Mr. Trotter's book preparatory to this notice of it, and should be pleased to be able to say that our task has been instructive or entertaining. Whatever pleasure Mr. Fox may have experienced in this gentleman's company, we cannot say that to us he has proved an agreeable companion. We are willing to think that this has proceeded from the style of his sentiment and language being for the most part above the pitch of our understandings. His manner of drawing characters, and particularly his ideas of moral resemblances, are peculiar to himself. The most curious of these parallels is that of Buonaparte and Augustus: which comparison is however given up by him upon his receiving a hint from Mr. Fox, that the Corsican is less cruel than the Roman. He makes compensation to us however for the want of resemblance in his parallels, by pointing out a contrast in respect to which he is sufficiently safe from contradiction. Our attention is called to the difference between the characters of Charles James Fox and Charles the Fifth, and the retirement of the senator to his villa and the emperor to his monastery are ingeniously placed in opposition. It would be unfair to close this article without giving the reader some specimen of our author's powers of composition; and as we have frankly expressed an opinion on the visit of Mr. Fox to the court of the tyrant, we think it but just to the memory of that distinguished person to give him the full benefit of Mr. Trotter's defence.

"Mr. Fox had now been twelve days in Paris, and we had not seen Buonaparte, except slightly and imperfectly at the theatre. My own wish to behold the first consul had not been increased since my arrival. The observation of military guards every where, the information that the numbers of barracks in and about Paris were very great, that 20,000 troops were within a short summons; and above all, a knowledge that the system of *espionage* was carried to an incredible height, making suspicion of the slightest indisposition to government sufficient cause for individuals to be hurried away at night,—(many of them never to be heard of again) had not contributed, by any means, to exalt my opinion of the new government. At this time I even doubted whether an Englishman, a true lover of liberty, ought to sanction the new order of things. As I have already alluded to those views, I shall only say, that Mr. Fox's determination to go to the approaching levee threw a new light upon my mind, and I was brought to consider the case dispassionately. Was an English gentleman or nobleman, travelling for instruction and pleasure, to be the reformer and censor of Europe?—at Petersburg to reprimand Alexander, or shun his court?—at Constantinople to insult the grand signior, and rudely reject the

society of his ministers?—No!—I said to myself, prejudiced and pensioned followers of ministry may affect to think in this way; but the enlightened stranger will, in all countries, respect the existing government, conform to its usages and ceremonies, and frequent its court, as the focus of all the rank, talent, and character of the country,—where the best manners are to be met with, and superior intelligence is to be collected!”

We certainly do not feel it of importance, if our limits would allow us, to give insertion to much of Mr. Trotter's performance, but the reader shall have one more specimen of his success in painting the virtues of his friends.

“Lady Moira, whose name and character is deserving of equal admiration and respect, previous to my leaving Dublin, distinctly pointed out to me the impossibility of the ministry existing long, *unless* a total change in all the minor departments took place, and predicted exactly what happened in case such regeneration was not carried into effect. All her hopes were founded on Mr. Fox, superior even to her son in genius, and inferior to no one in patriotism and the love of mankind; she found in Mr. Fox, the kindred of the soul—dignified in manner and deportment,—of an unbounded comprehension,—warm in her affections, and constant in friendship,—viewing the business of government in its general bearings, and in detail with a powerful penetrating eye,—a patriot in the very best sense of the word, because she preferred adhering to a distressed and degraded country, before the lures of grandeur, and the gratification of the society of her connections amongst the English nobility,—mistress of history, and wonderfully well versed in all the turns of the human heart,—compassionate to the miserable,—possessing eminent powers in conversation,—always serene and commanding,—often witty in the most delightful manner,—devoid of vanity, and if she had pride, it was a pride of the most ennobling nature, raising her to every excellence, and never betraying her into contempt or rudeness to others. This accomplished, and truly noble woman, felt the danger and the importance of the crisis of the beginning of 1806, and saw with a prophet's foresight, and a patriot's grief, the irretrievable errors which would spring from the destruction of a ministry, of which Mr. Fox was at the head, and the long train of calamities hanging over these countries, in the event of a restoration of the Pittite system, and the triumph of its adherents. In particular, Lady Moira impressed on my mind the necessity of a radical change in Ireland; it was the country of her adoption, to it she had consecrated a long and most useful life—in it she had determined to breathe her last,—and now, wavering on the confines of mortality, she was endeavouring to convey to Mr. Fox, through me, the admonitions of an incomparable friend, full of anxiety for his fame, of maternal yearnings for the prosperity of Ireland;—she was the guardian spirit, exerting itself

before it winged its flight to a better world, for the benefit of the friends of liberty, of her chosen country, and of mankind. Disdaining every religious distinction,—forgetting the narrow concerns of worldly beings,—full of solicitude for that happiness and prosperity, which she knew her declining life would not permit her to participate in,—she earned immortality by her last action, and in aiming at co-operation with Fox, she shewed at once the grandeur of her mind, the justness of her views, and the excellence of her heart.”

We now take our leave of Mr. Trotter, with a hearty wish that the friends of the late Mr. Fox, and the representatives of the old opposition, of which he was the gigantic leader, may not overlook the merit of a gentleman who in one octavo volume has condensed more superlative praise than Dr. Parr has collected into double the space; or than a hundred anniversary dinners of the whig patriots will be able to produce in speech, and song, and sentiment, inspired by Bacchus, and stimulated by acclamation.

ART. XVI. *A View of the comparative State of Great Britain and France in 1811; preceded by Observations on the Spirit and Measures of the successive Administrations since the Decease of Mr. Pitt.* London: Stockdale. 1811. pp. 191. 8vo.

WE are not struck either with the novelty or ability displayed in this pamphlet, although it is upon the whole not an ill-written party essay; but we have been induced to undertake a short notice of its contents by the expectation that some observations may arise eventually useful, if not to political men, at least to political writers.

The object of the work, as it appears from the title, is twofold—the first *in the work*, though the last *in the title*, seems to be, to inform us, that “the aspect of public affairs at the moment when *the great minister*, Mr. PITT, expired, who, during so large a portion of the present reign, had directed, with acknowledged integrity and ability, the helm of state, was, it must be confessed, by no means exhilarating.” 2. That the administration vulgarly called “the Talents,” under the guidance first of Mr. Fox and afterwards of Lord Grenville, was composed of persons, who, although the leaders, “were distinguished in their individual capacities, and full of vigour in parliament, nevertheless fell below the ordinary standard of political dimen-

sions in their conduct as public men, and as statesmen." "That the public voice at no moment since their dismission from power has ever demanded their return:" (p. 51.) and our author very justly states as a conclusive proof of the general opinion of their incapacity for government, that "neither the convention of Cintra, nor the retreat and disasters of Moore, nor the dissensions and duels in the cabinet, nor the sinister events in the Scheldt, followed by the maladies of Walcheren, have ever produced even a wish for their restoration to office." (P. 51.) Notwithstanding, however, this catalogue of the political errors of that administration of departments which was nominally formed under the auspices of the Duke of Portland, this pamphlet informs us in the third place, 3. that "rarely at any time have the three secretaryships of state been entrusted to men of more recognized ability than Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning. The latter, to whom the foreign department was committed, seemed to combine *almost* every quality to fit him for the office, except a personal acquaintance with the courts and languages of the continent." 4. We are given to understand, that after the notable expedition to Walcheren, "the public attention was suddenly turned from that subject of unavailing regret, to another of a very different nature, in which the *cabinet performed, if possible, a still more conspicuous part*;—Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning exhibited a scene on Putney Heath, which had no precedent in our ministerial history since the elevation of the house of Hanover to the throne." (P. 94.) The natural consequence of this meeting, and of the intrigues which gave rise to it, was the dissolution of the administration of departments, and the formation of that which now governs the country, "who appear to have advanced in the estimation of their countrymen." (P. 100.) And it is in the last place, 5. asserted, that not "any ministers ever rose so rapidly in the public opinion and confidence, as Mr. Perceval and his colleagues have done since the last six months;" (p. 164.) (that is, the six months preceding May, 1811.)

We have certainly not much to object to the truth of any of these propositions, excepting the third, which appears to us to be directly contradictory both to the second and fourth;—and as to the fifth, it does certainly express in a few words both the low estimation into which the present ministry sunk, in common with those of their former colleagues who deserted them, and the elevation to which their general ability under the firm and upright conduct of Mr. Perceval has raised them, now that they are emancipated from the debilitating effects and clashing interests of a ministerial republic.

The illustration of these propositions by a rapid historical sketch of the events of the last five years, contains little that is not within the recollection of all those who have occasionally looked into the *Courier and Morning Post* during that period; except that the writer argues with all the prejudices of those politicians who may be distinguished as appertaining to the school of Mr. Pitt; and we doubt not (*were he a minister*) that he would annually vociferate, at the Freemason's Tavern, his firm adherence and strict conformity to the system and opinions of his great master.

This appears to us to be a species of quackery that has already done some mischief, and if not duly exposed, is calculated to produce more. There never, perhaps, was a period in which original thought and unprecedented measures were more necessary in the conduct of affairs, to counteract the very extraordinary attacks which are constantly making upon our independence. Every thing, therefore, which tends to reduce the minds of our statesmen to a state of slavery to any system, much more to a system, the glaring defects of which (brilliant as it in general was) constituted one prominent cause of the difficulties we have now to encounter, appears to us to be little short of contemptible pedantry; and we are really surprised that men, who have vigour and energy of their own, should be afraid, like Patroclus, to trust themselves in the field without the armour of Achilles. Of the grateful recollection entertained of Mr. Pitt by many persons of influence and authority in this country, we neither doubt nor disapprove. But if his spirit, hovering over the festive board on the hallowed 28th of May, can be regaled with the incense with which ministers *in office* adore his memory;—the silence, the absence, and the indifference of those whose piety has departed with their places, will prove to him that posthumous attachment is as unsteady and treacherous, as the flattery which attends upon the career of living splendour. In truth, it does appear that the appropriations made to themselves by the children and champions of his system, if sincere, arise from prejudice; if assumed, from hypocrisy; and whether from one or the other, are liable to engage the *consistency* of our political agents in a servile adherence to a course of conduct that may, in new and untried positions of the country, be injurious to the state.—We have thought, therefore, that we shall do it some service, by endeavouring to point out as briefly as possible, the precise value of the legacy which Mr. Pitt has left us in his example. If we can at all succeed in separating the dross from the metal, we may hope to be instrumental in preventing the misfortunes

which their confusion in the manufacture of state policy, during the last five years, has engendered. Some such attempt is the more called for, as we have yet seen nothing of the kind which bears the semblance of impartiality. The enormous political pamphlet for which Mr. Giffard has assumed so unfairly the dignity of history and of political biography, is (as every one knows) little else than a history of the political sentiments of Mr. Giffard himself, *illustrated* by such extracts from the periodical works of the day as fortified his sentiments, and by a *careful omission* of all facts and circumstances which impugned them. It is for this reason principally, and from the low estimation in which the work seems consequently to be held, that we have deviated from our intention formerly expressed of reviewing Mr. Giffard's production. The calumnies directed against persons of the highest eminence and most unsullied character, for which even the wretched plea of party feeling cannot be alleged in extenuation, and the gross partiality, the sins of omission and commission exhibited with respect to Mr. Addington's administration, are alone sufficient to deprive Mr. Giffard of all title to the dignity of an historian, whose duties are now too well known to make it necessary for us to enumerate them. But Mr. Giffard, in common with many who have not half either of the qualifications, or the worth of the lowest member of the administration we have mentioned, seems to think their measures fair game for misrepresentation, whenever it serves their private purposes. For ourselves, thinking as we do, that the country is at this day experiencing signal advantages from the measures, military and financial, of that administration, we shall always make a point of treating it with that degree of respect, justice, and impartiality, which are due from British writers to all men indiscriminately who have exhibited talent and integrity in the service of their country.

We shall have the more pleasure in doing them justice when it fairly falls in our way, because we are gratified with the refutation which they gave to the vulgar and noxious idea of the general inability of good and religious men to sustain the parts of able statesmen: we presume to think that men so adorned and gifted, are better qualified by the spirit which they infuse into the character of government to carry the country through its difficulties, than those who are merely distinguished by a talent for intrigue, and epigrammatic eloquence in parliament; or in plain terms, that *character and sound sense* are better ingredients in the composition of a British minister, than *mere brilliancy of parts*. For the same reason we have hitherto approved of the present administration as *now constituted*, and are convinced

that nothing has more contributed to elevate it in the view of the nation, than the vigorous display of principle by it's leader on the regency question.

But to return to this lamented statesman, whose posthumous fame has been borrowed to sanction purposes which his living integrity would have disavowed. When with all those commanding talents and that brilliancy of eloquence, which seemed innate in him, and with all that presumption of purity which attaches to youth, Mr. Pitt stood forth as the champion of good government; professing alike to protect the sovereign from the desperate inroads of *an odious coalition*, and the people from the heartless and cankering system of corruption, set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole, and which had recently been carried to a disgusting extent of profligacy; he was received with open arms, and the suffrage of the nation conspired with circumstances to transport him at once to the summit to which by his ability he was gradually advancing; nor was his conduct for a considerable time ill-calculated to sustain the public enthusiasm. The system of open contracts instead of close biddings for the loan, the publicity and consequent fairness, with which the supplies of the year were raised, and appeared to be disposed of, the consolidation and simplifying of the duties both of customs and excise, and above all that establishment of the sinking fund, and the guards which he interposed against it's violation, which assumed in his hands all the merit of originality;—all this, aided by instances of personal disinterestedness, such as the appointment of Colonel Barré to the clerkship of the pells, and other like instances, established him in the hearts of the people. Before this impression could decay, the illness of the sovereign afforded to Mr. Pitt another opportunity of erecting his popularity on a durable basis, and fixing the confidence of the nation. The course, which was then most unwisely taken by the opposition, shocked, and turned against them, almost every individual of a nation, by nature loyal, honourable, and compassionate. When time had a little worn away this renewed impression, and his indecision in the case of the Russian armament had substracted somewhat from the homage of the public, the French revolution with all it's horrors burst upon us; and fortunately for his fame, again the main body of his adversaries took the precise course which he might have wished them to pursue. Mr. Fox and his party thought proper to extol and applaud innovations, which were carried through, regardless of justice or humanity, and were marked by atrocities, of which only savages had till then been found capable: and this when there were not wanting turbulent and factious spirits, labouring to produce

at home a similar change, even at the hazard of similar horrors. Thus was Mr. Pitt once more, almost in spite of himself, thrust forward as the champion of order and good government; and aided by a large portion of the old opposition, who were alarmed at the desperate lengths to which their *colleagues* seemed to extend their ideas of reform, he was enabled to carry on a war, which may be truly called disastrous, inasmuch as it baffled all calculation, and falsified every prediction which he had made as to its duration and character.

Still the dread of the inevitable alternative served, amidst the pressure of the war, and an unheard-of load of taxes, to prevent the nation from even wishing to seek a removal of the evil in a change of ministers; and Mr. Pitt continued to be regarded as the great bulwark, as the rock that was to arrest the torrent of jacobinism, and *which did in fact ultimately triumph over it*, notwithstanding the impetuosity with which its efforts were propelled by party spirit.

Then followed the union with Ireland, which established in his favour a powerful claim to the gratitude of every considerate man in the united kingdom. And when even this, by one of those strange turns which no human wisdom can foresee, proved the means of bringing his administration to an end, the air of disinterestedness which marked his retirement from office gave a departing lustre to his reputation; a certain Corinthian finish to his political character. Here in our opinion ends the catalogue of benefits which Mr. Pitt conferred upon his country; from this period he appears to sink into a very ordinary politician. His treatment of his successor in office, the weakness with which he lent himself to the suggestions of those, who could only recover their places through his means, and cared not what they sacrificed so they obtained that object; the tortuous policy with which he consented to become a party to a coalition, which although by the firmness of the sovereign it was not consummated, was to the full as profligate, and as unnatural, as that which Mr. Pitt had himself strangled in its infancy; all this, joined to the childish precipitancy with which he stirred up the Austrian war, the unfortunate events of which hastened his own dissolution, form a sad contrast to the brilliant parts of his former character, and bring out in sharper relief all its faulty lineaments.

From this rapid sketch it will perhaps be sufficiently apparent upon what Mr. Pitt's fame will chiefly rest with posterity; and (which is more to our present purpose) what parts of his character and conduct are most worthy of the professed imitation of his successors. If, as we presume to think, it is rather his per-

zonal and moral qualities than the use to which he often converted them, or the systems and measures which he employed them to promote; we trust that the modesty of our modern statesmen will leave it to be *inferred*, rather than assume to themselves, that they possess the eloquence, the disinterestedness, the general political purity of Mr. Pitt, which were in fact the instruments by which he roused the country to a due sense of its danger and its duty, and established a claim to its eternal gratitude. We trust, also, that they will no longer think it worth while to ascribe to themselves his indiscriminate rage for expeditions, and the injudicious methods by which our military force was continually frittered away in the pursuit of remote and desultory objects; a system which had well nigh destroyed the energy and character of our army. We trust that they will not imitate his system of favouritism, and its natural consequence; his negligence in inspecting the conduct of subordinate officers; his want of firmness evinced in the mutiny of the fleet, and in permitting the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, in compliment to the politics of one of his coadjutors, and with personal views to the patronage of his administration: We trust, that they will not think it necessary to emulate his system of prodigality in conferring the honours of the peerage, by which it has been observed, he has altogether changed the nature of that respectable body; having rendered it, as we have heard well expressed, a popular body, without popular feelings or control; which is certainly *not precisely in unison* with the theory of our constitution. In the conduct of war also, we trust, that they will not think it necessary to earn the name which he acquired of "the minister of preparation," nor in the conduct of affairs, that of "the minister of expedients." It is better to act upon a settled system, than to trust to transcendent eloquence, for carrying through measures merely calculated to meet the exigency of the moment: nor will they think it advisable to form preconceived opinions upon the elements of success to be found in the state of other countries, and obstinately to shut their ears or their understandings to intelligence from the spot calculated to overturn their prejudices. Above all, we trust, that if they have once established a fair claim to political consistency, purity, and integrity, that they will suffer no spurious arguments, or favourite predilections, to give obliquity to their conduct, and to weaken the impression of their public virtues.

We shall leave it to the recollection of our readers, to determine the extent in which a reference to this system as the standard of political excellence, has influenced our public policy for the last five years. What expeditions, what honours, what subordinate jobs, what *less* subordinate intrigues, what official negli-

gence, what obstinate pre-occupation of judgment on public affairs it may have occasioned, or been thought to justify. But before we quit the subject, we cannot possibly resist our desire to enlarge a little more upon that part of Mr. Pitt's system which has been less followed, and the close imitation of which could never be attended with more salutary consequences than at the present moment. We shall simply make our statement, and leave its application to those whom it may concern; briefly premising, that two of the principal members of the present administration have, by a laudable sacrifice of personal interest, established very honourable exceptions to a too general practice.

There was then one eminent and peculiar merit in Mr. Pitt's administration, more especially in the earlier part of it, which should never be forgotten:—this was the reanimation, as we may say, of our political character; the giving a new tone to our feelings upon public questions; bringing men again to believe in the possibility of public virtue; rousing them from that torpor and indifference, that cowardliness of spirit, which are the natural consequence of a system of corruption, especially when contemplated as *an almost necessary part of the system of government*. In such a case the sort of war carried on against it by an opposition in parliament fails to answer any good purpose; for the people at large entertain a persuasion, not unwarranted by experience, that the cry is against the *men*, not against the *measures*; and that whoever succeeded as minister would in this respect be nearly a counterpart of his predecessor. It cannot be denied, that at Mr. Pitt's first coming into office, these ideas were very prevalent, as well as that enervation, which seems again creeping over us at this moment; and which the stimulatives of faction were then, as now, insufficient to remove. And the *coalition*, which immediately preceded his appointment to office, completed the disgust and despair of all who had hitherto retained any confidence in public men. It was then, as we have observed, that Mr. Pitt stepped forward, the avowed enemy of the system, yet acting under the authority of the sovereign; thus assuring us, that the constitution had a real existence, and might by regular means recover its true tone and character. Connected with no party, yet declaring against those who had disgraced the name of party, he became at once the favourite of the considerate, and the upright, throughout the nation. The very circumstance of his being at variance with the great leading interests of the times, though it subjected him to constant and serious hostility, yet was not without its advantage. It rescued him from the temptation of bargaining with the great leaders for their support; and he may be said rather to have covered his own friends with his protecting ability,

than to have borrowed the support of their party influence. Raised above the temptation of defiling himself with a traffic which he had set out with reprobating, he might be, and still more might appear to be, perfectly disinterested in the disposal of places, of emoluments, or of honours. Positive experience, therefore, seemed to justify the hope which began to be entertained, that government might once again be carried on upon fair and disinterested principles. And it was this sentiment, very universally diffused, and kept up by the circumstances and events which we have before detailed, that enabled Mr. Pitt to put down triumphantly all the efforts of jacobinism, and to keep the great body of the community united under the pressure of its accumulated dangers, although it was well seen that those dangers had not been anticipated or encountered with that wisdom which can only be the result of long political experience, and a deep sagacity in the ways of men. True it is, that at length the circle of his friends extending itself on all sides, became a party, with the defects and evils of a party; yet it was one which, (up to the moment of his first quitting his high station,) always retained a great portion of its primitive character, and never entirely lost its hold on the opinion of the people. We are even willing to flatter ourselves, that the effect of what we have been describing is not at the present moment wholly passed away. Greatly indeed, and miserably is it diminished. The country we fear does again betray something like symptoms of that debility, that political cowardice and despondency, from which it was rescued by him, and which is going on in the same progress, to give encouragement to the wildest supporters of democracy, and the most desperate among the factions. But if this be so, we earnestly invite every public man, (and even the lowest functionary may in this case do his country good service,) to forget with us the degree in which Mr. Pitt's latter conduct served to obliterate the political disinterestedness of his earlier days; and to recollect that his fame was every way so Herculean, that it could only perish by his own hands;—to emulate that brighter portion, and to persevere through evil report and good report, in rousing every noble principle of their own nature, and of such as are within the circle of their influence, to those efforts which are necessary to convince the people that the fire of patriotism still burns in the bosoms of public men; and that the exertions, which the people themselves are disposed or compelled to make, are a real sacrifice at the shrine of their country, not a waste of vigour to promote the interested purposes of their superiors. The prize is worth the effort, and the glory of the accomplishment will be increased by

the difficulty that attends upon it. But it also requires greater intensity of exertion.

If Mr. Pitt, by his mixed system of good and evil, could scarcely carry the country triumphantly through the powers of darkness then opposed to it, (powers, the strength of which we are far from wishing to extenuate;) we certainly now require a system of greatly augmented good, and as much diminished evil; to bear us through the almost irresistible mass which has accumulated its energies for our destruction. Our *vis inertiae* is quite insufficient to resist it. In a word, and in the plainest language, nothing is now more obvious to the apprehension of the plainest understanding, which will give the subject a deliberate thought, than this truth;—that if we are now to be delivered it must be by *the universal self-devotion of the whole community*. One exalted individual,—one rank in society,—one half of the population,—two of the three parts of the United Kingdom earnest in the cause, afford not a basis wide enough to sustain the great fabric of the nation's defence. The mass cannot now be rescued from the danger by the exertion of the few. *All* must unite for the safety of the *whole*. Sacrifice must be added to sacrifice,—privation succeed privation,—while our courage and our endurance are increased by the conviction, that, like the leaves of the Sybil, the value rises as the quantity is diminished. The fund accumulated by our ancestors is not our own for selfish and absolute enjoyment; it is a bank and capital, which we are to transmit to posterity, not only unimpaired, but improved from the stock of our own industry.

That this is no theoretic assumption, a comparative estimate, such as is announced in the title of the work before us, will but too evidently prove. For if one position more evidently arises out of it than another, it is this,—that not only a trifling repose in peace from our present exertions in war, but even an abstinence from greatly increasing those efforts must, ultimately, lay us prostrate at the feet of our enemy.

We do not think it by any means necessary to follow the author of the work before us, in his comparative view of the means of defence and annoyance in the hands of Great Britain and France respectively, at the present moment. It is sufficiently obvious, that whatever naval superiority, colonies, and distant commerce can afford, is our decided portion; whatever may result from immensely superior military means, from secrecy in design, and velocity in operation, belongs to France; seated in the centre of affairs, and despotically ruling every movement of continental Europe. Supposing that neither

could materially endanger the existence of the other, the situation of England is certainly preferable, with a view to domestic comfort, the enjoyments of life, and all those nobler acquisitions which render the condition of mankind enviable. But in a contest for existence, to use a hackneyed phrase in a *bellum internecinum*, which the present contest may be said to be, it would be a miserable self-deception not to admit that France has a tenfold advantage; for while we cannot by any application of our force materially *injure her safety*, however we may check the progress of her further aggrandizement, she has only to bring her superior means into contact with our inferior, in order to place our existence in the *utmost jeopardy*. In this state of affairs too we cannot afford to relax in our efforts of *offence*, since, if well considered with reference to the state of Europe, they make a most efficient part of our system of *defence*. And all this, with God's protection, is to be performed by the natural and acquired energies of fifteen millions of people. If then any part of the community may think that it has cause of complaint against another, it must defer the settlement of that dispute, till the grand dispute, whether anything worth contending for can be preserved, is finally determined. That the hearts of the three portions of the kingdom are in the main *sound*, we verily believe; notwithstanding the efforts which faction, and foreign influence, and profligate party spirit, are making in a neighbouring country. The question then which remains, is simply how to convert the means we possess, and the spirit which animates us, to the best purposes.

With respect to the disposition of our means of offence, we have nothing to add to what is to be found in our last number, on Spanish affairs, and Captain Pasley's work. But we are very much disposed to think, that much may yet be done to ameliorate the system of our defensive arrangements, and to render us more secure against the eventual descent of a large hostile force upon our coasts.

It cannot be denied that the interchange of the Irish and English militias (greatly as it had added to the security of Ireland) has somewhat impaired the means of defence existing in England*.

This circumstance, *joined to the general defalcation of the volunteers*, would, in the event of any disaster, considerably add to the duties that would eventually fall to the lot of the local mi-

* It appears to us that it would be a considerable improvement upon, and quite in the spirit of this measure, to permit the several regiments of militia, who have interchanged their services, respectively to take as recruits natives of the country in which they may happen to be.

litia. We speak from personal experience, when we say, that the regiments composing that force consist of raw materials, physically capable of being moulded into complete infantry; in plain terms, of the finest young men in the country, just at the plastic age most amenable to the drill, and who have eagerly flocked as volunteers to the standards erected in their own counties to avoid the ballot for the regular militia. The proportion of privates in the local militia, under the age of twenty-three, we will venture to assert is not less than five to one. The rapidity with which they learn the use of arms, and the simple manœuvres calculated for their use, and acquire the air and port of soldiers, shews how easily they might be fitted for more efficient service. But the fortnight's practice, to which their exercise is now reduced, is obviously too trifling to make them useful in their present capacity, while their security from the ballot actually locks them up from the regular militia, and, according to the present system of recruiting, from the regular army also. For we do not find that the fortnight's holidays in uniform in their county towns have quite infused that military ardor into their minds which was calculated upon as a necessary consequence of the system. Their organization also, with respect to officers, and non-commissioned officers, renders them decidedly unfit, without great addition to their present state of discipline, to occupy the first, or even the second line in opposition to an invading force. It would be a rash and weak reliance upon inadequate means to argue otherwise. Many circumstances, however, might arise, in the course of the next two years, which would necessarily bring the local militia into contact with the enemy at their first landing. In some of the distant counties the regular army and militia are by no means sufficiently numerous to contend even with a very trifling force, thrown on our shores as a diversion, or experiment. And we confess that for ourselves we should be sorely grieved that success, however partial or temporary, should encourage the enemy, or discourage the country, upon the first execution of their long delayed threat.

Many other facts and arguments might be adduced in corroboration of those which we have just stated. But we think it more useful to fill up the remaining space allotted to us, by offering one or two suggestions, due attention to which would we humbly conceive render this island, although the majority of our regular force were absent, with God's blessing absolutely impregnable.

It appears to us then, that the permanent staff of the local militia should be doubled or trebled; the latter proportion would

only raise it to three-fourths of its original establishment, which was unwisely broken up because inefficient, instead of being rendered efficient by increased attention on the part of inspecting officers.

In the next place, instead of being called out for training and exercise only one fortnight in the year, we think that there should be three weeks training and exercise in the spring, and three more weeks in the autumn. We are also of opinion, that the place of assembling should not be a town in the county, where the temptation to rioting and drunkenness, and the consequent difficulty of maintaining discipline, are doubled; but that each regiment should assemble at quarters, not less than thirty miles from the chief town of the district in which it is raised. These regulations, with a very few subordinate ones, would make the force really efficient for the defence of the country, if strict inspections and returns were frequently made, both of the regiments when assembled, and of the depots and permanent staff in the intervals of repose; without which the whole will naturally degenerate into a mere job.

Then, in order to make the local militia a real nursery for the regular militia, and the army, drafts should be annually made by lot from the local to the regular militia, by which all ballot from the population would be avoided, except for the former. From the regular militia to the army no difficulty has ever been found in procuring volunteers. Thus would be established a complete system; which, while it permanently secured the country from all danger of attack, would continually afford those supplies for offensive warfare, which must at least be said to be eventually necessary to preserve our independence as a nation. Thus should we become really a military country, and be placed in an attitude, where, if each functionary did his duty, the enemy himself could have no hopes of success against us.

In humbly submitting these reflections we are far from intending to impute blame to any one for past measures. In a free country military measures, calling upon a whole population for their services, cannot at once be brought fully into operation. The people's minds must be convinced, before the government can safely venture to lay its hands upon their persons. The army of reserve and other military measures taken at the commencement of the present war, upon the system or materials of which the army has been since fed, strongly corroborate this truth, and its natural consequence. And we also find that since the glorious ebullition of public spirit, which called forth such a host of volunteers in 1803, and 1804, to the present day, the measures for our domestic defence by the adoption of that excellent

measure the local militia, have been gradually becoming more coercive, and of more extended efficiency. We believe also that the whole mass of the people are so fully convinced of the necessity of increased exertion to preserve those blessings, which after all the pains taken to depreciate them, they still prize more highly than their lives; that they will yet repine at no personal sacrifice or exertion, in which they see the higher orders engaged as their comrades, and fairly taking their proportion of the burthen. Self-devotion is a very contagious virtue, where a chord exists in the mind that will vibrate in unison with its tone; and when an Englishman thinks of his family and his country, and thinks at the same time of French spoliation; his whole frame and all his faculties are in the hand of an honest statesman, as a well-tuned string in the hand of a skilful musician.

We have now said what we think necessary for the public good, and our readers will observe that we have not drawn their attention too much to the pamphlet at the head of our article; but that, except some few deviations, we have successfully imitated very high practice, in steering cautiously clear of the work we have undertaken to review.

ART. XVII. *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809; in which is included some Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Mission under Sir Harford Jones, Bart. K. C. to the Court of the King of Persia.* By JAMES MORIER, Esq. his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Court of Persia. With twenty-five Engravings from the Designs of the Author, a Plate of Inscriptions, and three Maps; one from the Observations of Captain James Sutherland, and two drawn and corrected by Major Rennel, F.R.S. London: Longman. 1811. Quarto. *Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie et la Perse, fait en 1807 et 1808.* Par M. Gardanne. A Paris, chez le Normant. A Marseille, chez Jean Mossy. 1809. Octavo, pp. 128.

THE conquests of the British, and the consequent expulsion of the French from every quarter of Indostan, have had a considerable influence in awakening the dormant interest of the public concerning the condition and capabilities of the ancient kingdom of Persia. The shores of India being now hermetically sealed against the entrance of French emissaries and diplomats by sea, it has become as obvious to the ruler of France, as to the British government, that the only chance of giving us any

disturbance in possessions, whose value and importance are depreciated more by our domestic than by our foreign enemies, must be through the channel of the Persian and Afghan territories. And it is natural to conclude, that the example of Alexander, no less than that of Charlemaigne, should be an object of interesting contemplation to Buonaparte, so far as it may be made consistent with his unprincipled thirst of conquest, and the sanguinary nature of his ambition. It was, therefore, with no surprise that we found in a late importation of books from Paris, the "Journal," which forms the second subject in the title to this article, and which is understood to be from the pen of M. Gardanne, secretary of legation to the mission from France to Persia, at the head of which was his relation of the same name. Neither were our expectations at all disappointed by perceiving that of the twenty persons composing the suite of the "*general ministre plenipotentiaire*," fourteen were officers of artillery, engineers, or "*ingenieurs geographes*;" who, under pretence of instructing the Persians in European tactics, are very coolly admitted to have been busily engaged during the whole mission in drawing plans, tracing maps, and providing the necessary materials for the future use of a French army in Persia. It must be admitted, however, that these gentlemen have very sedulously concealed from the public the result of their researches; for nothing can be more jejune than this French pamphlet, as to any real and interesting information concerning the country in which its author resided, and which he traversed from one end to the other. With a few exceptions, M. Gardanne relates only the distances from post to post, and observes but little concerning the personages with whom he fell in, except to inform us with complacency that some *were*, or with indignation and surprise, that others *were not* acquainted with the name and character of the French and "the great Napoleon;" and that the mirzas and khans received with great respect the portrait of the emperor, and the bulletin of the battle of Jena translated into Persian.

It may well be supposed that such a production was calculated rather to excite than to gratify curiosity. And for ourselves we are ready to admit, that the magnificence of the twenty satrapies founded by Cyrus, and which ministered to the grandeur of Darius Hystaspes; that the splendour of the dynasty of the Sassanides, established by Artaxerxes the father of Sapor, who commanded a Roman emperor to leave Asia to the "great king," and to confine his dominion to Europe; that the luxurious elegance of the Sofis, the triumphs and institutions of Shah Abbas; may even the poetry of Hafiz, and the morality of Sadi, awaken

less lively sensations in our mind than the painful state of anxiety in which the French pamphlet left it, as to the power and resources which the convulsions of the last century have still left to Persia, and the disposition of its government and inhabitants towards the two great European powers, who are respectively seeking its alliance.

We burned also with impatience to ascertain whether amidst all the degeneracy and misfortunes of Persia its people still retain any of the great and noble qualities for which they were once distinguished, whether their detestation of falsehood, their generosity, liberality, and hospitality to strangers, their bravery and devotion to their sovereign, of all which some traces were still conspicuous in the days of Chardin, are yet ingredients in the national character; whether their attention to agriculture, the care in the education of their youths, their reverence of puerile simplicity (see Juvenal, sat. 14, and Cyrop.), we mean their scrupulous care that nothing incorrect should be subjected to the ears or eyes of boys, were still component parts of their system. Nothing that we had ever read or heard concerning them could induce us altogether to divest our minds of the idea that the Persian character, though very far from having escaped the general pollution, had suffered less than any of the orientals from the brutifying influence of the Mohammedan religion; a circumstance which we had always attributed partly to the milder tenets of their sect, and also to a supposed remnant of the effect of former institutions. Lastly, we were anxious to possess some probable grounds of computation as to the increase or decrease of the dense population, perhaps too liberally ascribed to Persia by Chardin, who calculated that it contained in his time, i. e. 554 cities, 60,000 villages, and about forty millions of souls.

Finding the French authorities so defective in all these points, it was with great pleasure that we received from our bookseller a few days ago the publication of Mr. James Morier, a gentleman whose talents and opportunities eminently fit him for the task he has undertaken, and who (if our partiality does not much deceive us) has executed it as well as the limited period of his residence in Persia would admit, and with an unaffected simplicity so much the more interesting, as it is known to his friends to be a prominent feature in his character; and therefore affords internal evidence of the truth and originality of the composition. This is the more valuable, as Mr. Morier has for some months been absent from England, as secretary of embassy to Sir Gore Ouseley, our ambassador at the court of Persia, who sailed from England in June 1810, in company with the mirza Abul Hassan,

so well known among the higher circles of this metropolis. Fortunately, however, the work has been far from receiving detriment from the absence of its author. Mr. Morier, before his departure, entrusted it to a gentleman whose talents, information, and industry, have done it ample justice. Conscious of the sacredness of a traveller's memoranda, Mr. Inglis seems to have undertaken the charge with a full conviction "that one line on the spot is worth half a page of recollections," and that the most perfect composition of this kind, is that where the author writes daily his own journal on the spot, and in the leisure which the completion of his expedition may afford, corrects and arranges the materials thus authenticated. The latter office Mr. Morier's professional avocations induced him, as we are informed in the preface, to commit to the care of Mr. Inglis, who has preserved throughout the body of the work the simplicity with which things which have passed under the eye should be recorded by the pen, and which accorded so well with the author's mind. But he has also illustrated and enriched the text with an appendix of notes, replete with information, drawn from the various authors who have written accounts of Persia.

In the journal of a secretary of legation in the circumstances of Mr. Morier, it may be presumed that much personal and private observation, many political and confidential minutes, would naturally occur, that are wholly inadmissible in a publication, upon every principle of official duty, and individual prudence and propriety. Yet must these passages have been very tempting in the hands of an editor, inasmuch as they are probably the most interesting in the journal. Mr. Inglis, however, has scrupulously omitted every feature of this description, yet has contrived, as we think, to select enough to impart to the narrative a great deal of interest and entertainment. Of this our readers shall now be enabled to judge in some degree for themselves.

Mr. Morier's journal contains a narrative of his proceedings from the departure of the mission from Bombay, on 12th Sept. 1808, to his arrival at Constantinople, in company with the mirza Abul Hassan on his way to England, in the autumn of 1809. It includes a voyage up the Persian gulf, and a journey overland through Bushire, Shiraz, Persepolis, Ispahan, Teheran, and Tabriz or Tauris, with occasional residence at those points, which the curiosity of the travellers or the objects of the mission rendered most interesting. Engravings by the hand of Mr. W. Daniell, from spirited sketches of Mr. Morier's, illustrate the most singular scenes which presented themselves.

Mr. Morier modestly remarks, that his volume "is meant

merely as provisional," and that he "is far from entertaining the presumption that it will class with the valuable pages of Chardin, le Brun, Harway, Niebuhr; or Olivier." Mr. Morier's acquaintance with Persia was acquired rather in what may be termed a passage through the country, much occupied by his official duties, than during a residence of leisure for research and investigation. He cannot, therefore, be expected to enter into details respecting the agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and national character, of the inhabitants, as those authors did whom we have just cited. But then on the other hand, his official character gave him means of access and intercourse with persons among whom no length of residence would have afforded to a common traveller the same advantages. And it may be said that the work before us contains perhaps the best account extant in modern times of the higher ranks of Persians, and many detached observations that throw light on the other subjects, for the full investigation of which time was wanting. We may also observe, that Mr. Morier's industry and activity have enabled him to bring before the public *for the first time*, a detailed account illustrated by engravings of some remains of antiquity, which he investigated at Shapour, a city in the great plain of Kauzeroon, near the road from Bushire to Shiraz.

That we may not interrupt the future progress of the narrative, we shall here observe, that these remains consist of rude sculptures of battles between personages in Roman and Persian costume, many of which, though referred by the ignorant Orientals to the fabulous exploits of their Rustam, or Hercules, are probably, as Mr. Inglis observes, a record of the triumphs of Sapor the son of Artaxerxes over the Romans; and one compartment, which represents a man in Roman armour kneeling at the foot of a Persian on horseback, seems evidently to refer to the emperor Valerian, who was defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, and forced by the barbarian to bow the neck to his foot whenever he mounted his horse. It will be recollected also, that another Sapor overthrew the emperor Constantius in frequent engagements, and killed the emperor Julian in a memorable defeat, the merited consequence of that rash incursion, in celebration of which Mr. Gibbon has wasted so much eloquence, and prostituted so much good writing. Fac similes of some of these sculptures were observed by le Brun at Nakshi Rustam, near Persopolis, and engravings of them are given in his "*Voyages en Persie, &c.*"

In sailing up the Persian Gulf, Mr. Morier took some sketches of the singular capes and headlands which serve as a shelter to the Arab pirates, who, if we may believe their coun-

tryman, Ebn Haukal, have existed from beyond the time of Mohammed, and who have contributed with the anti-commercial habits of the Persians, to banish the intercourse of peaceful navigation from a tract of ocean peculiarly fitted for its advantageous pursuit.

The mission was received with all due honour by the sheik of Bushire, and had soon an opportunity of observing the mode of conducting state affairs in Persia. A day or two after their arrival, the *chief executioner*, an office from its great use and importance to the sovereign not dishonourable in Persia, arrived at the head of forty horsemen, deposed the reigning sheik, and exalted in his room a merchant from the bazar; in a few days he again deposed this last, and chained him by the neck to the wall of his prison; and in a few days more reinstated him in his government, and left him at length in the enjoyment of it. All this was executed by the peremptory orders of the Prince of Shiraz, in a town belonging to the Arabs, whose sheik thirty years before had given shelter to the fugitive Prince Looft Ali Khan, honourably supported him, and restored him, by Arabian valour, to his throne.

The following account of the mode in which this last-mentioned sheik collected his retainers, exhibits a singular coincidence of manners and customs with the highlanders of Scotland, as portrayed in Mr. Scott's last popular poem.

"Whenever his little domain was threatened either by the government of Persia, or by a neighbouring chief, sheik Nasr flew to arms. According to the traditional accounts of the country, his summons to his followers in these emergencies was equally characteristic and effectual. He mounted two large braziers of *pillau* on a camel, and sent it to parade round the country. The rough pace of the animal put the ladles in motion, so that they struck the sides of the vessels at marked intervals, and produced a most sonorous clang. As it traversed the *Dashtistan*, it collected the mob of every district; every one had tasted the Arab hospitality of the *sheik*, and every one remembered the appeal, and crowded round the ancient standard of their chief, till his camel returned to him surrounded by a force sufficient to repel the threatened encroachments. In every new emergency the camel was again sent forth, and all was again quiet." (P. 17.)

To make the business of recruiting poetical was beyond even the talents of Mr. Windham; but we cannot help considering this call upon Arab gratitude and patriotism more interesting than the fiery cross, or crean tarigh dipped in gore, which from the heights of Ben benne, "glanced like a meteor round," or the staff of the Scandinavians, which roused the voice of war

over the heaths and vallies, till every man of the horde rose in arms.

The residence of the mission at Bushire was principally occupied by visits of form from the officers of the courts of Shiraz and Teheran, sent to welcome the envoy. A great part of the duties of the diplomacy of Persia consists in these visits, which are of a nature far from being congenial with English taste and manners.

"Instead of the sophas and the easy pillows of Turkey, the visitor in Persia is seated on a carpet or mat without any soft support on either side, or any thing except his hands, or the accidental assistance of a wall, to relieve the galling posture of his legs. The misery of that posture in its politest form can scarcely be understood by description: you are required to sit upon your heels, as they are tucked up under your hams after the fashion of a camel. To us this refinement was impossible; and we thought that we had attained much merit in sitting cross-legged as tailors. In the presence of his superiors a Persian sits upon his heels, but only cross-legged before his equals, and in any manner whatever before his inferiors. To an English frame and inexperience, the length of time during which the Persian will thus sit untired on his heels is most extraordinary; sometimes for half a day, frequently even sleeping. They never think of changing their positions, and like other orientals consider our loco-motion to be as extraordinary as we can regard their quiescence. When they see us walking to and fro, sitting down, getting up, and moving in every direction, often have they fancied that Europeans are tormented by some evil spirit, or that such is our mode of saying our prayers." (P. 40.)

The time consumed in these ceremonies, in the return of the officers to their court to make their reports to the sovereign, in the appointment and arrival of a mehmandar, whose office it is to procure from the inhabitants of the places through which the mission passed requisitions of food, money, &c. &c., enabled Mr. Morier to procure some details concerning the pearl fishery, the coasts, and the natural history of the Persian Gulf; they form the substance of the fourth chapter, and are worthy of attention.

On the 17th of December, 1808, the mission quitted Bushire on the road to Shiraz; the party travelled on horseback, and encamped at night; the mehmandar's officers preceding the cavalcade to extort from the inhabitants, by the right of purveyance, the necessary refreshments. Some cultivation, but more ruins, presented themselves to observation; and the villages "afforded a picture of poverty stronger than words can express; there was nothing but what mere existence required; nor to our

very cursory observation did the most trifling superfluity shew itself." (P. 78.)

We do not consider this, however, as conclusive with respect to the whole country. Wherever the rights of purveyance exist they will inevitably be abused, and render the roads immediately communicating the extremities of an empire with its court little better than a desert.

On the plains of Khisht they were met by the governor, Zaul Khan, a man of remarkable appearance, without eyes, and with the fragment of a tongue; the rest of which, with his eyes, he had forfeited during the troubles of Persia. In what a state of brutal sensibility must that country and people be, where men carrying about their persons marks of infamous punishments, or who are publicly known to have been chained by the neck to a wall, are elevated to posts of dignity and confidence! What damning proofs at once of the tyranny and venality of the government! It was in this journey that Mr. Morier and Sir Harford examined the ruins of Shapour, to which we have before alluded.

Having received with all due ceremony the King of Persia's *firman* a few miles from Shiraz, the envoy made his public entry in procession into that city on the 30th of December, surrounded by an immense multitude, through whom the mehmandar and his officers with difficulty procured a passage by the liberal application of large sticks to their shoulders. After several visits of ceremony from the great officers of Ali Mirza, one of the king's sons, who keeps his court at Shiraz, and filling up the intervals of repose with visits to the interesting objects, mosques, gardens, &c. in the neighbourhood of the city, the mission was presented at court on new year's day, 1809. On this occasion the streets were filled as before, and the bazars, or markets, displayed all their wealth.

"About thirty paces from the principal gate Sir Harford dismounted, and followed by us all, whilst the trumpet of the troop sounded the salute, advanced through the portico. Here the *ish agassi*, or master of the ceremonies, Bairam Ali Khan Cadjah, who had been seated in a small place opposite the entrance, rose at our approach to meet us. He then called for his staff of office, (a black cane with a carved pommel) and placing himself at the head of the party, led us through rather a mean passage into a spacious court, at the extremity of which appeared the prince. He was seated in a kind of open room, the front of which was supported by two pillars elegantly gilded and painted. This is called the *dewan khonéh*, or chamber of audience.

"In the centre of the court is an avenue of lofty trees, at the sides of which are two long canals: there numerous fountains threw

up a variety of little spouts of water, to the jingle of the wheels and bells of their machinery. On all sides of the court were placed in close files a number of well-dressed men armed with muskets, pistols, and swords; these were the subalterns, and the better sort of the soldiery in the prince's guard. Amongst them were here and there intermixed officers of high rank. In the centre of the avenue, and on the borders of the canal, stood in long rows, respectfully silent, and in postures of humility, all the chief officers, khans, governors of towns and districts.

"When we entered the court, the *ish agassi* stooped and made a very low obeisance towards the prince; and Sir Harford and his mission made an English bow, and just took off their hats. These salutations, which were made four times in as many different places of the court, were repeated as we entered the *dewan khonéh*. The prince in all this looked at us, but did not stir a muscle: we now proceeded straight forwards until Sir Harford faced the prince, where he was then directed to sit, and we all took our stations in order. When we were seated, the prince said in a loud voice, "*Kosh amedeed*," that is, "You are welcome;" which was repeated by Nasr Oallah Khan, his minister, who stood at about five paces from him, in an attitude of respect. Sir Harford made the compliments required, when the prince desired us to sit at our ease. We however, as in a former instance, chose to be respectful and uncomfortable, and to continue in the fashion of Persia.

"The prince then added a variety of flattering things, talked of the friendship of the two nations, said how anxious his father was to see the ambassador, and advised him to proceed to his court without delay. We had *kaleoons*, then coffee, and then (a compliment not repeated to a common guest) another *kaleoon*. After this was over, we got up, and making an obeisance, quitted the prince's presence with every precaution not to turn our backs as we departed. The same number of bows, repeated in the same places as on our entrance, closed the audience.

"Ali Mirza, the prince of Shiraz, is not the least amiable of the king's sons. After Prince Abbas Mirza, the governor of Aderbigian, and the heir of the crown, he is his father's greatest favourite. In person he is an engaging youth of the most agreeable countenance, and of very pleasing manners. His dress was most sumptuous; his breast was one thick coat of pearls, which was terminated downwards by a girdle of the richest stuffs. In this was placed a dagger, the head of which dazzled by the number and the brilliancy of its inlaid diamonds. His coat was rich crimson and gold brocade, with a thick fur on the upper part. Around his black cap was wound a Cashmere shawl, and by his side, in a gold platter, was a string of the finest pearls. Before him was placed his *kaleoon* of state, a magnificent toy, thickly inlaid with precious stones in every distinct part of its machinery. To me the prince appeared to be under much constraint during the ceremony of our audience; in which he had been previously tutored by his minister:

and I very easily believe, according to the stories related of him, that he exchanges with eagerness these etiquettes of rank for the less restrained enjoyments of his power. On these he lavishes his revenue; and in the costliness of a hunting equipage, the fantasies of dress, and the delicacies of the *harem* are frittered away a hundred thousand *tomauns* a year. Young as he is, (for he is only nineteen) he has already a family of eight children. In his public government he is much beloved by his people; and although the Persians are not inclined in conversation to spare the faults of their superiors, of him I never heard an evil word. He has not indeed those sanguinary propensities, which are almost naturally imbibed in the possession of despotic power; and where others cut off ears, slit noses, and pierce eyes, he contents himself with the administration of the more lenient *bastinado*."

Three days afterwards the prince gave a fête to the mission, and amused them with feats of rope-dancers, water-spouters, fire-eaters, singers, drummers, and musicians. On the 7th a fête of a sterner nature was given, in which an ox was devoured by a lion; the Persian nobles displayed feats of horsemanship, and the troops were made to go through their newly acquired Russian manœuvres.

"In the evening, the prince invited the envoy to meet him on horseback at the *Maidan*, and expressed a wish to see the troop of cavalry go through some of its exercises and evolutions. We accordingly proceeded, and, when we perceived the prince, we all dismounted from our horses for a moment, and when he waved his hand, we all mounted again, and rode close up to him. His manners and appearance were most elegant and prepossessing. He was dressed most richly: his outer coat was of blue velvet, which fitted tight to his shape; on the shoulders, front pocket, and skirts, was an embroidery of pearl, occasionally (in the different terminations of a point or angle,) enlivened with a ruby, an emerald, or a topaz. Under this was a waistcoat of pearl; and here and there hanging in a sort of studied negligence, were strings of fine pearl. A dagger, at the head of which blazed a large diamond, was in his girdle. The bridle of his horse was inlaid in every part of the head with precious stones; and a large silver tassel hung under the jaws. The prince was altogether a very interesting figure." (Page 117.)

In truth, whether we form our judgment by a reference to Mr. Morier's drawings, (see plate at page 70) or by the concurrent testimony of all travellers, no sight can more strongly impress on the mind the combination of feudal grandeur, with elegance and good taste, than a Persian nobleman on horseback.—The beautiful symmetry of the horse, the housings, the trappings, the dress of the rider, the attendant footmen and horsemen, some of the former of whom (called *chatters*) will run thirty-six leagues in

fourteen hours, all recall to mind the ancient splendour of the nation, and the ambition of the Persian noble, which from time immemorial has been "to be a great horseman," a qualification second in their estimation, in former times at least, only to that of "speaking truth."

Of the enticing wines of Shiraz, concerning which, Mr. Gibbon has asserted, that "in every age they have triumphed over the laws of Mahomet," we do not recollect that Mr. Morier has given any account; and M. Gardanne dismisses them with the contemptuous expression, "*Le vin de Shiraz ne vaut pas sa reputation*:" an opinion in which our limited experience of a few specimens brought to this country induces us entirely to agree.

In the last visit of the mission to the prince of Shiraz, they beheld a sight calculated to rend the heart of every one who has read with delight, the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon. "On walking through the garden," says Mr. Morier, "we met one of the prince's brothers, a little fellow about six years old, who could just totter under the weight of the brocades, furs, and shawls, with which he was encumbered. Several khans and men of consequence were standing before him in the same attitudes of respect and humility, as they did before his elder brother, and attending to all his little orders and whims, with as much obsequiousness as they would have shewn to a full grown sovereign." (Page 121). Connected with this perversion of the education of their princes, we cannot help reciting the following passage from M. Gardanne's pamphlet, which strongly exemplifies the general neglect of education among the higher ranks: "*Nous demandons*," says he, "*à un grand seigneur le nombre de ses enfans ; il repond naïvement qu'il n'en sait rien ; se tourne du côté de son secrétaire, & le lui demande ; celui-ci repond, dix-sept.*" (Page 36.) Extreme reverence to parents is, however, still preserved among the Persian youths. They prostrate themselves before them at their entrance, stand in their presence, and always rise even at the mention of their names.

On the thirteenth of January, the mission quitted Shiraz, and on their way to Ispahan, visited the ruins of Persepolis, the sculptures of Nakshi Rostam, and other less known antiquities, of which Mr. Morier gives an account, illustrated by several plates: most of these curiosities, however, have been visited and described with tolerable accuracy by le Brun, and other travellers; and our contracting limits warn us to confine ourselves to subjects of more immediate interest, and of undisputed originality.

The following extract conveys a forcible description of the

barrenness of the country, and of the difficulties which any accession of mouths to be fed brings upon the miserable inhabitants.

"The evening set in gloomily; *Deibeed* is considered the coldest spot in this region, and the snows in the winter have sometimes impeded the progress of travellers for forty days together. The *Mehmandar* looked at the sky with apprehension; and the governor of *Moorgh-aub*, (Aga Khan, an Arab of an old and respected family who had accompanied us to the bounds of his district to provide amply for our passage,) shared his forebodings. He had himself often experienced the severities of this country, and he, better than any one, knew the distresses which the detention of two or three hundred men in a spot so destitute and insulated would occasion. He had provided sustenance for ourselves and our cattle for one night only, and this he had transported with great trouble from *Moorgh-aub* and other villages. Indeed through the whole of our march great and early were the preparations made by the chiefs of the country for our reception. If these were the difficulties of our passage, the march of an army would not be easily conducted. The country in its present state could not complete magazines of provisions, even if it were required by its own government. It must however be always recollected, that this is the least fertile province of the kingdom." (Page 147.)

Notwithstanding the last observation, the general context of Mr. Morier's journal does certainly fortify the conclusions arising from the nature of the country, and of the government, and from the concurrent testimony of other travellers, that agricultural industry is at a very low ebb in Persia; and the consequent difficulty of forming magazines for a large army may add tranquillity to the slumbers of those proprietors of India-stock whose imaginations have been haunted by the phantom of Buonaparte at the head of his myrmidons marching through Persia to the subjugation of Indja. The towns through which the mission passed exhibited many remains of former grandeur, but the state of dilapidation, and the scarcity of people, increased with every step of their progress towards the interior. Ispahan, the beautiful capital upon which the mighty Shah Abbas lavished all the exuberance of oriental luxury, presents a sad and heterogeneous mixture of misery and magnificence. To the eye of the distant traveller it affords the picture of an immense capital, stretching further than the eye can reach, and variegated with groves and avenues, and burnished domes, and cupolas and gilded minarets; but on a near approach the gates carved and embossed with flowers and verses from the Koran are falling from their hinges; the lacquered and variegated tiles are peeling off from the surface of the cupolas, and the ruins of houses are spread over all the plain,

and reach even to the feet of the surrounding mountains. Nevertheless the remains of that splendour so minutely and exactly described by Chardin are still to be traced; and the following description of one of the king's palaces, selected from many others of equal or superior interest, may afford some idea both of the power and evanescence of despotic extravagance.

"The palace of the *Chehel Sitoun*, or 'forty pillars,' is situated in the middle of an immense square, which is intersected by various canals, and planted in different directions by the beautiful *chenar* tree. In front is an extensive square basin of water, from the farthest extremity of which the palace is beautiful beyond either the power of language or the correctness of the pencil to delineate. The first saloon is open towards the garden, and is supported by eighteen pillars, all inlaid with mirrors, and (as the glass is in much greater proportion than the wood) appearing indeed at a distance to be formed of glass only. Each pillar has a marble base, which is carved into the figures of four lions, placed in such attitudes, that the shaft seems to rest on their four united backs. The walls which form its termination behind are also covered with mirrors, placed in such a variety of symmetrical positions, that the mass of the structure appears to be of glass, and when new must have glittered with most magnificent splendour. The ceiling is painted in gold flowers, which are still fresh and brilliant. Large curtains are suspended on the outside, which are occasionally lowered to lessen the heat of the sun.

"From this saloon an arched recess (in the same manner studded with glass, and embellished here and there with portraits of favourites) leads into an extensive and princely hall. Here the ceiling is arranged in a variety of domes and figures, and is painted and gilded with a taste and elegance worthy of the first and most civilized of nations. Its finely proportioned walls are embellished by six large paintings: three on one side and three on the other. In the centre of that opposite to the entrance is painted Shah Ismael, in an exploit much renowned in Persian story; when in the great battle with Soliman, emperor of the Turks, he cuts the *janisary aga* in two before the *sultan*. On the right of this, surrounded by his dancing women, musicians, and grandees, is Shah Abbas the great, seated at a banquet, and offering a cup of wine to another king, whom he is entertaining at his side. The wine, indeed, seems to have flowed in plenty, for one of the party is stretched on the floor in the last stage of drunkenness. The painting to the left is Shah Thamas, in another banquet scene. Opposite to the battle between Shah Ismael and Sultan Soliman is that of Nadir Shah and Sultan Mahmoud of India. On the left of this is Shah Abbas the younger, who also is occupied with the pleasures of the table; and on the right is Shah Ismael again, in an engagement with the *Usbeck Tartars*. These paintings, though designed without the smallest knowledge of perspective, though the figures are in general ill-proportioned, and in attitudes awkward and unnatural, are yet enlivened by a spirit and character so truly illus-

trative of the manners and habits of the nations which are represented, that I should have thought them an invaluable addition to my collection, if I could have had time to have made copies of them. When it is remembered that the artist neither could have had the advantages of academical studies, nor the opportunities of improving his taste and knowledge by the galleries of the great in Europe, or conversed with masters in the art, his works would be allowed to possess a very considerable share of merit, and to be strong instances of the genius of the people. The colours with which they are executed retain their original freshness; at least if they have faded, they must have been such in their first state, as we have not seen in Europe. The gilding, which is every where intermixed, either to explain the richness of the dress, or the quality of the utensils, is of a brilliancy perhaps never surpassed.

"From the interior of the palaces we ascended the Ali Capi gate, which forms the entrance. This gate, once the scene of the magnificence of the Seffi family, the threshold of which was ever revered as sacred, is now deserted, and only now and then a solitary individual is seen to pass negligently through." (P. 164—168.)

In spite of appearances, the beglerbeg or governor resolved to convince the envoy that some superfluities still remained among his people for tyranny to extort. He entertained the mission with a dinner, which, "instead of being served in the usual manner on the ground, was placed on tables framed for the occasion, and was piled up in enormous heaps." He had the "further attention to provide his guests with plates, spoons, knives, and forks, which were all in like manner made for the day's entertainment. The spoons were of silver, and that for the envoy was of gold." (P. 172.) Mr. Morier has given a very interesting sketch of one of the principal gates of the city, which forms part of a panoramic view, taken from the summit of a lofty pleasure-house erected by Shab Abbas, as a station from which to view the games of the maidan and the exercises of his troops. This view, together with those of Shiraz, Teheran, Saltanieh, &c. are strongly expressive of the magical effect impressed upon the eye by the light and elegant varieties of Arabian architecture. From these remains of former magnificence the mission proceeded without delay to Teheran, the present seat of government, which, by the favour of the reigning monarch, has acquired some small portion of that prosperity, of which Ispahan has been deprived by his desertion of the palaces of his predecessors.

Here were of course repeated with redoubled ceremony all the forms, the visits, the compliments and the presentations undergone at Shiraz. The trifling ignorance of the nobles, and even of the ministers, is singular and amusing. One of them would not

believe that the streets of Vienna were lighted with globe lamps; another was "completely staggered" by an account he had heard of an ass (zebra) with stripes on his back; a third could not be persuaded that the houses in Europe were seven stories high*; a fourth desired to know whether Sweden was not near the Cape of Good Hope. They do not appear, however, to have been very accommodating diplomatists. "The conferences of the plenipotentiaries were carried on at times with the warmest contentions, at other times interrupted with the loudest laughter on the most indifferent subjects." At one time, in the middle of a very serious conversation, the prime minister stopped short, and asked the envoy, very coolly, to tell him the history of the world from the creation. This was intended as a *joke* upon one of the Persian secretaries, who was writing the annals of the present reign. At another time he interrupted the discussions by turning abruptly to Mr. Morier, asking if he was married, and beginning some absurd story. But the following trait, we suspect, is not to be paralleled in the lethargic levity of any diplomatic intercourse that ever occurred before. "One night the parties had sat so long, and had talked so much without producing conviction on either side, that the plenipotentiaries, by a sort of unofficial compact, fell asleep. The prime minister and the ameen ed dowlah snored aloud in one place, and the envoy and I stretched ourselves along in another." (P. 199.)

Notwithstanding these unpromising interruptions, the negotiations were at length brought to a happy conclusion;—when on a sudden some mysterious and angry dispatches from the governor general of India, altogether disowning the king's minister, and discrediting his credentials, placed the court and the mission in a very unpleasant dilemma; from which his Persian majesty seems to have released them by deputing the mirza Abul Hassan to accompany Mr. Morier to England for explanations. Not having the documents in our possession, we shall at present pass over this extraordinary disagreement between the diplomatic policy of the East India Company and of the crown, with this single observation—that it affords another and a very striking illustration of the evils springing from the *imperium in imperio* established by that anomaly in politics, the mercantile sovereigns of India.

The mission was very graciously received by his Persian

* M. Gardanne has the following passage on this subject, p. 44. "Mon grand-père parut de Versailles devant le Roi de Perse et sa Cour; et pour leur donner une idée de la magnificence du Chateau, il n'oublia pas l'escalier de marbre. Le Roi après lui avoir fait expliquer ce que signifiait *escalier*; Tu me dis ton empereur si puissant, et il n'a pas de place pour se loger sur la Terre."

majesty, who is represented to be about forty-five years of age, "of pleasing manners, an agreeable countenance, with an aquiline nose, large eyes, and very arched eyebrows. His face is obscured by an immense beard and mustachios, which are kept very black*. His voice has once been fine, and is still harmonious, though hollow, and obviously that of a man who has led a free life."

"On his head he wore a species of cylindrical crown covered with pearls and precious stones, and surmounted by a light feather of diamonds. He rested on a pillow embossed on every part with pearl, and terminated at each extremity by a thick tassel of pearl. On the left of the throne was a basin of water in which small fountains played; and on its borders were placed vases set with precious stones. On the right, stood six of the king's sons richly dressed: they were of different sizes and ages; the eldest of them (brother by the same mother to the Prince of Shiraz) was the Viceroy of Teheran, and possessed much authority in the state. On the left behind the basin stood five pages, most elegantly dressed in velvets and silks: one held a crown similar to that which the king wore on his head; the second held a splendid sword; the third a shield and a mace of gold and pearls; the fourth a bow and arrows set with jewels; and the fifth a cepochair similarly ornamented. When the audience was finished, the king desired one of his ministers to inquire from Jaffer Ali Khan (the English agent) what the foreigners said of him, and whether they praised and admired his appearance.

"The room in which we were introduced to the king was painted and gilded in every part. On the left from the window is a large painting of a combat between the Persians and Russians, in which the king appears at full length, on a white horse, and makes the most conspicuous figure in the whole composition. The Persians of course are victorious, and are very busily employed in killing the Russians, who seem to be falling a sufficiently easy prey." (P. 192.)

Races, military reviews, wrestling, and other games were celebrated in honour of the envoy, during Mr. Morier's residence at Teheran. But his majesty's impatience to receive news from England hastened the departure of the mirza Abul Hassan, whom Mr. Morier was destined to accompany. Of this mirza, who excited so lively an interest in this country, we have only

* In page 247 Mr. Morier has favoured the public with the Persian recipe for making the hair of the beard, and consequently that of the head, of a jet black. It is a long and rather painful process, and appears to us to include some risk in the hands of an unskilful practitioner, of leaving the beard orange colour, indigo, or bottle-green. Some, indeed, as he says, prefer to have their beards of these colours. "The people of Bokara" (among whom we suppose flourished the hero of the famous romance), "are remarkable for their blue beards."

space to observe, that his father was prime minister to Nadir Shah, who in a fit of caprice ordered him to be burnt alive, a fate which he only escaped by the sudden assassination of the tyrant;—that the mirza's uncle was put to death, one of his brothers deprived of his eyes, and another bastinadoed to death by his present majesty;—that the mirza himself “was already on his knees, his neck made bare, and the executioner's sword unsheathed to sever his head from his body, when he was suddenly reprieved;”—that he travelled over Indostan and many parts of the east, till he was recalled to court, where he has since basked in the sunshine of royal favour; although we should suppose it must be occasionally clouded by certain anticipations and recollections of no very agreeable tendency.

On the 7th of May, 1809, the mirza and Mr. Morier quitted Teheran on their road through Tabriz, or Tauris, to Constantinople. The country through which they passed appears to be better cultivated and naturally more productive than the southern districts of Persia. But in proportion as they approached the mountainous districts bordering on the Caspian sea, the tribes of wandering Elauts and Arabs, and the intestine broils of the petty chieftains, were found to be a considerable tendency to frustrate these advantages of nature; and the privilege which all travellers with a firman possess of turning their cattle into the standing corn, in addition to the evils of purveyance, may well be supposed sufficient to prevent any accumulation of surplus produce. There is so great a scarcity of wood over the whole country, that the poor are necessarily reduced to great extremities: in general they are miserably clad; the children have scarcely any thing to cover them but a shirt of coarse linen, which hardly reaches to their middle; and the women wear nothing but a shirt, a pair of drawers, a jacket, and a veil which covers their head, and serves them on all occasions. (P. 273.)

The habits arising from the climate and nature of the country, and the contests with Russia, which have been carrying on for some years on this frontier, have imparted to the natives of this part of Persia qualities more cheering than those which we have hitherto contemplated; and the character of Abbas Mirza, the Prince of Tabriz, their governor and the heir apparent of the Persian crown, is highly calculated to foster and improve dispositions so favourable. Both M. Gardanne and Mr. Morier agree in ascribing to this prince mental and personal accomplishments far above the age and nation in which he lives.

M. Gardanne says of him, “Il veut relever sa nation, et il a l'ambition de la gloire militaire. S'il perd un general ou un guerrier, il déchire ses habits, et donne les marques de la plus

vive douleur. Il à perdu dernièrement des enfans, et n'a temoigné aucun chagrin." (P. 36.) Mr. Morier's account is a little more particular.

"The prince is said by the Persians to possess every quality that can grace a mortal; and (as there are many circumstances in his character which his countrymen would never think of inventing) I am inclined to believe them. They were related to me by the hakim or governor of the city, at whose house I lodged during my residence at Tabriz. Some time ago, three of the prince's children died: his vizir appeared before him with a mournful face; the prince observed him, and inquired the reason: the vizir hesitated: 'Speak,' said the prince, 'is there any public disaster? Have the Russians been successful? Have they taken any more country from us?' 'No,' answered the minister, 'it is not that; your children are sick:' 'What of that?' asked the prince; 'But very sick indeed,' continued the vizir. 'Perhaps then they are dead?' interrupted the father. His son confessed the truth. 'Dead,' said the prince, 'why should I grieve? the state has lost nothing by them; had I lost three of my good servants, had three useful officers died, then indeed I should have grieved: but my children were babes, and God knows whether, if they had grown up to man's estate, they would have proven good servants to their country.'

"The prince is remarkable also for the plainness of his dress; he never wears any thing more than a coat of common kerbas (a strong cotton cloth) and a plain shawl round his waist. Whenever he sees any officers of his court in fine laced or brocade clothes, he asks them, 'What is the use of all this finery? Instead of this gold and tinsel, why not buy yourself a good horse, a good sword, a good gun; this flippery belongs to women, not to one who calls himself a man and a soldier.' He inspects himself all the detail of his troops, their arms, horses, and accoutrements, adopting those that appear to him fit for use, and rejecting those that are below his standard. The governor of the city, who related these traits to me, had in his house at the time two hundred muskets, which the prince refused out of two thousand that had been sent to him from Teheran, having himself examined every single gun, and tried every lock. He is said also to be extremely liberal to his troops, and to give all his money among them.

"When I asked the governor if Messrs. Jouannin and Merciat, of the French embassy (who had arrived a few days before us, and whom I overtook at Tabriz), had as yet departed, he replied that they were gone. When he came back to me in the evening he told me that they were not. He added, that on appearing before the prince in the morning, he had related my question and his own answer; on which the prince exclaimed, 'You told him that they were gone! How could you tell him such a falsehood? I will not allow any of my servants to speak an untruth.—Go and tell him

that they are not gone.' It appeared that the governor had been really mistaken in his first report.

"The governor talked also of his prince's horsemanship, and skill in the chase, which were unequalled. He told me that at full gallop the prince could shoot a deer with a single ball, or with the arrow from his bow hit a bird on the wing. He combines indeed the three great qualities of the ancient Persians, which Xenophon enumerates, riding, shooting with the bow, and speaking truth. His countrymen however are, in general, less severe in their estimate of the requisites of a great character, and are content to omit the last trait of excellence; but they never praise any one without placing in the foremost of his virtues his horsemanship, in which alone perhaps they possess any national pride. I once in fact was in some danger of a serious dispute, by hazarding a doubt, that the Turks rode better than the Persians. It is quite ridiculous to hear them boast of their own feats on horseback, and despise the cavalry of every other nation. They always said, 'perhaps your infantry may surpass ours; but our horsemen are the first in the world; nothing can stand before their activity and impetuosity.' In fact, they have courage—one of the first qualities of a horseman; they ride without the least apprehension over any country, climb the most dangerous steeps over rock and shrub; and keep their way in defiance of every obstacle of ground. They have also a firm seat, and that on a saddle which, among an hundred different sorts, would be called the least commodious. But that is all; they understand nothing of a fine hand, nor indeed with their bridles can they learn; for they use only a strong snaffle, fastened to the rein by an immense ring on each side, which they place indifferently in the strongest or weakest mouths: nor do they know how to spare their horses and save them unnecessary fatigue; for their pace is either a gallop on the full stretch, or a walk. As a nation, as fit stuff for soldiers, I know of no better materials. The Persian possesses the true qualities of the soldier; active, inured to labour, careless of life, admiring bravery, and indeed (as the chief object of their ambition) aspiring to the appellation of *resheed* or courageous. (P. 279) "

We learn from good authority, that the prince of Tabriz has directed his agents in this country to send to him the writings of our best authors, who treat upon the constitution and polity of the British empire. And the two Persian youths now in this metropolis, upon whom some of the newspapers have conferred princely honours, are in fact of plebeian origin, and were selected by the prince for their promise of superior ability, and sent hither under proper protection to learn the English language, for the purpose of facilitating his acquisition of English knowledge; and also to be educated, the one as a painter, the other as a surgeon—the one to cure the body, the other to record the exploits of their sovereign.

It is some relief to a mind long engaged in contemplating the fairest scenes of nature, the advantages of which the inhabitants waste and abuse, to reflect upon the reformation which the example and authority of such a prince may at length introduce among his countrymen. We are half disposed to indulge in so illusory a hope, by concealing the difficulties with which he has to contend. But truth compels us to admit that the case, for the present generation at least, is nearly desperate. Besides the renewed commotions which will probably ensue on the death of the reigning king, there is a corruption of heart and of taste, and an unprincipled levity of manners displayed in the following passage, which is more disheartening than many grosser vices that might at first sight appear less remediable.

"I dined with mirza Hassan, son of the first minister, mirza Bozruk. There were a number of young and pleasant men, who would have enlivened any company; but they seemed to vie with each other in the marvellous. As a specimen; a dervish had told one, that he was in his room when a shock of an earthquake threw him on the floor, where he lay for a long time in a trance; and on recovering, found himself, to his great surprise, extended in the court-yard, close under his apartment: a second shock having projected him senseless out of the window. Of sleight-of-hand they recounted the most wonderful feats; and to all this, they swear by each other's head, eyes, sons, and fathers. The surest prognostic, indeed, of a falsehood is the number of emphatic oaths by which it is preceded. The Persians are called, with sufficient propriety, the Frenchmen of the east; they are indeed a talkative, complimentary, and insincere people, yet in manners agreeable and enlivening." (P. 285.)

Soon after quitting Tabriz Mr. Morier passed the frontiers of Persia, and though his journey through Armenia and Asia Minor is by no means uninteresting, we shall here take leave of his work for the present, in order to close this article with a few reflections arising out of the political system, and the picture of national manners, which have been presented to us.

And first we may observe, that as no king of Persia for the last century has ever obtained quiet possession of his throne without wading to it through the blood of many competitors of his own family; and, as we think, that we have enumerated three or four warlike brothers now possessing governments in different parts of the kingdom, and all accustomed to the exercise of power little short of absolute sovereignty; it requires no great reach of judgement to foresee, that Abbas Mirza, prince of

Tabriz, will not quietly take possession of the government, without some years of confusion, destruction, and desolation, to already exhausted Persia. Combining, therefore, this prospect, with what we have observed of the natural poverty and difficulties of the country; and considering that there is an Afghan monarch in Cabul and Candahar, between the frontiers of Persia and those of India, almost necessarily hostile to the Persian government; we think ourselves entitled to conclude, that any serious inconvenience to our Indian possessions from the passage of a French force through Persia is for the present altogether imaginary. We are far, however, from wishing that the British government should on this account relax in the attention which it has lately given to the court of Persia. There are many moral, many political objects, which may be promoted by the connection. And generally speaking, we think it becoming in a great nation professing to act on liberal and enlarged principles of policy, to cultivate intimacies with those who can reap moral and political improvement from the intercourse. We do from our hearts detest that *truth pedlar principle* of diplomacy adopted by France and the continental states, that calculates what people can be kidnapped, what territory seized from its lawful owner, at such a consumption of human life, or at such an expence of military spies and official falsehoods. M. Gaidanne's work, scanty and unsatisfactory as it is, proves clearly enough that Persia has been long entered in the Gallic ledger as an article of debit against England, or to be purchased at the abovementioned rate. But as making good the delivery would entail upon Persia an aggravation of all her evils, it behoves England to enter her protest against the demands of France, and to support it by every measure which can extenuate the evils under which the Persians labour. We should then be instrumental in extricating the fairest of the Asiatic nations from the same state of moral and political degradation from which we are now labouring; to *preserve* the fairest of those of Europe; nay, we think that we may add the whole European continent. To be convinced that Spain and Great Britain are the only impediments to such a consummation of evil, it is only necessary to contemplate the abject state of Persia, and to reflect upon the causes that have produced it, and then to trace the progress and consider the plans of Napoleon. Called to the possession of supreme power under circumstances, than which none were ever more favourable to its establishment on the broad basis of the people's happiness; with a littleness of mind truly despicable, he has chosen to rest his fame on the personal aggrandize-

ment of his family and dependents, on military glory, and the oppression, not to say the absolute annihilation of the people. With his "twenty satrapies" fast rising on every side around the patient tyrant, what but the moral force instilled by the exertions of England, and the example of successful resistance so gloriously exhibited in the peninsula, prevents him from sending in a fit of caprice his chief executioner with the bowstring to the king of Prussia, or to bring to the imperial footstool the eyes and the tongue of the king of Wntemberg, or to chain her majesty of Sicily by her neck to the wall, or to bastinado to death their new-made majesties of Bavaria or Saxony? Nor is this all; the evils would accumulate not upon the higher ranks only, but upon every class of the people. Protected as they may be by the energy of a first establisher of tyranny from all oppressions but his own, what shall save them from the horrors of the domestic contests, the rebellions, the sackings of cities, and the laying waste of countries, that have universally ensued among the degenerate descendants of the first great tyrant, who add the prejudices of a princely education to the *orthodox* vices of their established system of politics? The line of the Buonapartes, should Providence be pleased to afflict and chastise the world with a royal race from the stock, must from the nature of things surpass the Sofis themselves in luxury and cruelty; and a succession of unprincipled and warlike satraps will perpetuate civil discord and eternal bloodshed by never-ending contests for the possession of the "roi faneant," or for the substitution of a less fortunate brother or cousin as the instrument of their power.

We have reason to believe that this splendid and well edited volume is the first of a succession of works upon Persia that will gradually come before the public. A new work from M. de Sacy is shortly expected from Paris; and the present embassy under Sir Gore Ouseley contains (besides Mr. Morier) the ambassador's brother Sir William Ouseley, a gentleman whose perfect acquaintance with oriental literature and languages must afford a peculiar interest to any account of his researches.

The three maps, which illustrate the work before us, will be found to contain original matter useful to geographers.

ART. XVIII. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Sidmouth, upon the Subject of the Bill lately introduced by his Lordship into the House of Peers.* By Thomas Belsham; Minister of the Chapel in Essex-street. London: Johnson. 1811.

Remarks on the Failure of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, relating to Protestant Dissenters. London: Harding, St. James-street. 1811.

WE should be ashamed to encumber our pages with professions of zeal and respect for religious toleration. In this enlightened and free country no one is entitled to claim merit for joining in the ardent attachment of his fellow subjects to the main bulwarks of British liberty; such as the trial by jury, the habeas corpus act, and the bill of rights. With these may be justly classed the act of toleration, the real enemies to which are to be chiefly found amongst those who are actually enjoying its benefits; and this strange and unnatural hostility will probably be manifested without disguise in the course of the ensuing session of parliament.

In proportion, however, to our own veneration for this highly valuable part of the great work achieved by our ancestors at the revolution, is the keenness of our resentment and regret at the spirit of encroachment on the one hand, and of inadvertency, neglect, and connivance on the other, by which its purposes have in some respects been perverted, and its benevolence abused. Its provisions were cautiously adapted to the doctrine and discipline of the few sects of which the dissenters, then a known and definite body, were composed; and it was meant to protect conscientious dissent, and to ease scrupulous consciences by extending the freedom of religious worship. It has, nevertheless, been made the instrument of encouragement to schism, fraud, and the wildest fanaticism. These observations apply, in at least an equal degree, to the act of 19 Geor. 3. c. 44, which was framed for similar purposes, and has had to encounter similar abuses*.

* The toleration act, which is entitled "an act for exempting their Majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws," having set forth in the preamble, that "forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection," enacts in the 2d c. that "all protestant dissenters, except such as deny the Trinity, shall be exempted from all penal laws relating to religion, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy (or making a declaration to that effect if quakers), and subscribing the declaration against popery."

By the 8th section, it is provided, that "no person dissenting from the

* Vide Blackstone's Commentaries, b. 4, page 33.

Is it, however, conceivable by any one who has read, and is capable of understanding these acts, (the principal provisions of which will be found in the note below), that the practical interpretation of *both* has almost universally been, that any person, however ignorant and however profligate, without previous recognition, appointment, or recommendation (real or implied), even by persons of his own persuasion, might claim as of right at any quarter-sessions of the peace to go through the forms which the above-mentioned statutes prescribe; and that having demanded and obtained a certificate of compliance, he should become entitled, not only to perform publicly the most solemn function that can be executed by man, not only to preach what-ever he pleased, whenever and wherever he thought proper, but likewise to an exemption from serving upon juries and in any parochial office, and from being liable, in common with the rest of his fellow subjects, to be trained, disciplined, and called forth as a militia-man in the defence of his country.

The interpretation, however; which we have thus described

church of England in holy orders, or *pretended* holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher, or teacher of any congregation of dissenting protestants" that shall make the declaration, and take the oaths as required by the 2d clause of this act, and declare his approbation of, and subscribe to, the articles of religion, except the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th, shall be liable to any pains or penalties "for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion, permitted and allowed by this act." The 10th clause enacts, for the relief of anabaptists, that every person in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher or teacher, who shall perform the conditions above-mentioned, with the exception of signing that part of the 29th article which relates to infant baptism, "shall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages which any other dissenting minister as aforesaid might have or enjoy by virtue of this act. By the 11th clause, every preacher or teacher "in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a minister, preacher, or teacher of a congregation, who shall have performed the condition required by the 8th clause," is exempted from serving upon any jury, or in any parochial office.

The act of the 19th G. 3. c. 44. is entitled an act "for the further relief of protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters." The preamble having recited the 10th s. of 1. W. and M. and stated; that many such persons scruple to declare their approbation of, and to subscribe the said articles not excepted as aforesaid, "for giving ease to such scrupulous persons in the exercise of religion," it is enacted, that every person dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, being a preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting protestants, who, if he scruple to declare and subscribe as aforesaid, (*viz.* certain articles of religion), shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration against popery, required by the said act of the 1. of W. and M. to be taken, made, and subscribed by protestant dissenting ministers, and shall also make and subscribe a declaration in the words following; (*here follows the form of the declaration*); "shall be, and every such person is declared to be entitled to all the exemptions, benefits, privileges, and advantages granted to protestant dissenting ministers by the said act; and every such person qualifying himself as aforesaid shall be exempted from serving in the militia of

and stigmatized, though almost universal, has not, as we have already admitted, been entirely so. To the ignorance, negligence, or connivance, to which it is to be imputed, the magistrates of the counties of Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and, as we are willing to hope, of some other parts of the kingdom, have afforded creditable exceptions. It is also but justice to acknowledge, that as far back as the year 1804 this latitude of interpretation was discountenanced in some material points by a clear exposition of the true construction of the 19th Geo. 3. c. 41., given in a pamphlet published at Bristol by a barrister of the name of Smith, (himself, as we have heard, a dissenter).

Mr. Smith states, that "many persons who were not within this act had been allowed to qualify under it, and that had not the number of applicants by their vast increase excited the attention of the magistrates in a more than ordinary degree, it would perhaps have been considered that the qualification of every protestant dissenting minister might be obtained under it." (P. 36.) Mr. S. proves most clearly, that the legislature did "not mean to extend the relief granted by this statute to any besides those who are preachers or teachers of congregations;" (p. 36 :) "the true construction of which words Mr. S. understands and submits to be a preacher, or teacher chosen or elected by, and *resident amongst* a particular congregation, in opposition to such preachers, and teachers, as itinerate, or officiate occasionally amongst the dissenters; just as in speaking of a rector or vicar, who has been instituted and inducted into a benefice, we call him the minister of the parish." (P. 33.) Mr. S. further observes, that "no minister of a congregation is strictly within this statute, who does not *scruple* to declare his approbation of, and to subscribe the articles of religion required to be subscribed by the act of toleration: for the statute was expressly made for the purpose of giving ease to *such* scrupulous persons." (P. 36, 37.)

We must add, that Mr. Smith is the only writer, within our knowledge, who, previous to the discussions on the late bill in the House of Lords, exposed what Mr. Belsham calls in his pamphlet "the universally prevailing error," concerning exemptions and immunities; although many excellent persons have loudly complained of the mischievous effects arising from the practice, which they naturally enough concluded to be sanctioned by the law.

Mr. Smith's reasonings on this subject, though too prolix for insertion at length, are very conclusive; and, when considered as flowing from the pen of a dissenter, constitute a curious document. They plainly indicate the opinion then entertained

by reasonable dissenters, not only with respect to the existing laws and their interpretation, and concerning that which was most for the general interest of the dissenting body; but also concerning the extent to which a prudent government, anxious to promote the cause of religion, and to support an established church consistently with a complete toleration to sectaries, may proceed in the career of concession. But these halcyon days of contentment and good sense are passed away with the dissenters as well as with the Romanists. The unwarrantable lengths to which party zeal and private ambition have induced persons really indifferent to all religion to extend their measures of hostility under the threadbare plea of liberality, joined to the internal causes of decay, which we have without ceasing reprobated and lamented, have in a few short years converted the humble and contented subjects of toleration into fierce and contentious rivals, wrestling foot to foot with the establishment.

The view taken by Lord Sidmouth of the act 19th Geo. 3, and of the construction to be given to the 1st of W. and M. on the subject of privileges, exemptions, and immunities, seems to have been precisely similar to that of Mr. S.; and though directly at variance with the resolutions agreed to at the meeting of the methodist societies at the New Chapel, City-road, on the 14th of May last, and of the general meeting of dissenters at the London Tavern on the following day, it does not appear to have been disputed by their friends in the House of Lords on the 9th or 21st of that month; and its correctness has been since distinctly admitted by Mr. Belsham. Mr. B. however, in advert- ing to 19th Geo. 3, is evidently "perplexed in the extreme," by the clear import of words which cannot be explained away; and he accordingly tells us, that it was "by an unaccountable *inadvertence* in the framers of this statute that its benefits were limited to ministers being preachers, or teachers of congregations of dissenting protestants." P. 15, 16.—Inadvertence! in whom?—In Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Lee*; by whom the bill was framed? But this is not half: Mr. B. afterwards informs us, that "the legislature passed this bill in the form in which the dissenters and their friends desired." P. 23. So that the inadvertence is not only that of the framers of the bill, but of those for whose benefit it was framed; and yet the effect of it is to exclude a very large proportion of those very persons from what Mr. B. thinks their just share of the benefit.

The intent of this act was, as Mr. B. has stated, merely to afford an alternative to one of the conditions of the 1st of W.

* Attorney General under the coalition administration of Lord North and Mr. Fox.

and M., by substituting a declaration which every christian would willingly make, for a subscription to articles to which many might conscientiously object. The alteration was in the mode of relief, not in the description of persons to whom relief was to be afforded. So far we perfectly agree with Mr. Belsham. But he thinks that *any and every person*, upon taking the oaths, making the declarations, and signing the articles, is entitled to qualify under the toleration act, and that it was only through *inadvertence* forsooth that a similar latitude was not given under the 19th of the king. We, on the contrary, are decidedly of opinion that, on the part of the framers of the act, and of the dissenters, according to whose wishes Mr. Belsham tells us it was framed, there was no inadvertence whatever: but that dissenting ministers, and dissenting ministers only, were intended to have authority to qualify under either of the acts, and that persons of that description could not be so correctly designated as by the words "preachers or teachers of congregations of dissenting protestants." It is therefore on the 8th s. of the 1st of W. and M. (the original toleration act) that Mr. Belsham, and, we are sorry to add, Mr. Smith, and a noble and learned lord, of great forensic eloquence and celebrity, and several others of the more moderate latitudinarians have been induced exclusively to rely for the support of the doctrine that "*any and every person who thinks himself able has a right to qualify for the purpose of officiating as a minister of religion;*" admitting, however, that no one is entitled to exemptions from certain offices, and other duties, but a preacher, or teacher of a particular congregation.

This extravagant doctrine, no less revolting to common sense than to common decency, they have endeavoured to maintain chiefly on the ground of a loose and arbitrary construction of the words, "*pretending to holy orders;*" regardless of the other parts of the act of toleration, by which its meaning is clearly pronounced; and likewise of the distinct and decisive explanation afforded to it by the subsequent act of the 19th of Geo. 3; regardless too of the absurdity of supposing that the eminent persons who were the authors of the 19th of Geo. 3, and the dissenters of that period, and the legislature, could either through inadvertence, or intention, have so constructed it as that the *further relief*, which it was the object to afford, should be more difficult of attainment, than even the imperfect relief granted by the 1st of W. and M.; which would be the case if *every person* might qualify under the one, and only preachers and teachers of congregations under the other.

But even this last hold of pertinacious error has been rendered untenable by a recent decision in the Court of King's Bench. It was indeed long and earnestly wished, (though we confess that

our own opinions of the extreme wariness of all sectaries did not allow us to expect it), that some one of those, who frequently, as we understand, held out to the magistrates of Bucks, Devon, Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. the terrors of a mandamus, would take some step towards carrying the threat into execution: but year followed year, and the cautious restraint, which prudence imposed, was not departed from. At length, however, a Welchman, of the name of David Lewis, (whose application for a licence under the 1st of W. and M. had been rejected by the magistrates of Denbigh) heated perhaps by the recent victory in the House of Lords, and anticipating another triumph in Westminster Hall, improvidently and happily rushed into the Court of King's Bench, and in consideration of the decision* which he was thus the cause of obtaining, has conferred an involuntary obligation upon every man in the country who duly regards the purity and decency of religion.

Quod divum promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en! attulit ultro.

Here then is a judicial comment of high authority on that which Mr. Belsham has somewhat rashly called "the fatal original blot in Lord Sidmouth's bill, which was truly said by Lord Redesdale, without contradiction from any law lord except Lord Erskine, not to infringe in any degree upon the act of toleration."

On this important decision we offer our sincere congratulations to all persons who feel what is due to the dignity of religion; and amongst those persons, though they may not be at present quite in a humour to receive them, even to dissenters themselves, who had they rightly considered the proposition of Lord Sidmouth, would have seen it in the light of a boon, and chargeable perhaps by the zealous advocates of *high church* with an excess of liberality. They must also know that the effect of self-ordination and self-appointment has frequently been to bring discredit upon their whole body, by the inundation of interested impostors, and wild fanatics, of the lowest cast; with whom no sect has any connection, and over whom there is no control. Such an assumption of the sacred offices of religion is not countenanced we affirm by scriptural authority; by the policy of any wise government; or by the practice of the primitive church. It is adverse to the discipline of the old dissenters of all persuasions, and is strongly discouraged by such of the new and anomalous sects

* A mandamus was applied for, and a rule refused.

ries or separatists of the present day, as might be supposed to be the most likely to regard it with indulgence.

The following resolution appears on the minutes of conference in 1803: "If any member of the methodist society apply to the quarter-sessions for a licence to preach, without being approved as a preacher by the quarterly meeting, such person shall be expelled the society." This certainly is not a specimen of a disposition to make an unqualified allowance for the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit. The fact is, and it ought in justice to be acknowledged, that although methodism is the name by which the irregularities we have now been speaking of are generally characterized, it is a gross perversion of the term. "They are however," as has been observed by an intelligent author, "very commonly scions from that main stock of schism." The same author*, in speaking of such irregular practices, adds,

"I conceive no unbiassed person will say, that such proceedings are not in direct violation of the toleration act, both in spirit and letter. That act was intended for the relief of tender consciences, and was applicable to those who had previously established systems, which they could not pursue, but at their peril. But here the minister does not grow out of the congregation, as was evidently the presumption in the act of King William, but the minister goes about to form, to seduce, to trepan a congregation, as an object of private convenience and profit to himself, and the act which yields him a licence to preach becomes, not as it was intended a relief to a tender conscience, but a means of estrangement and seduction from the established church."—"Is that act to be preserved, or is it not? or is it to be violated with impunity? The question is not less interesting to the old and respectable dissenter, than to the member of the church of England. He cannot view with indifference these attempts to subvert all order, to degrade religion itself by making it a mere trade and traffic; to render it too frequently ridiculous by the incompetency of the teachers; but what is most threatening, to render it a mere tool of licentiousness and fanaticism."

Mr. Belsham too reprobates some of the abuses of this act, though he is not inclined to approve of any effectual measure to prevent them in future. He admits, that "for an ignorant booby, who can neither write nor read, to demand to qualify as a dissenting minister, and for such a man to *assume* the office of a christian minister, is an insult upon common sense, and common decency;" (p. 3, 4.) He adds "I question, whether in the whole united kingdom such a person could procure three ministers, or ix householders, to sign a testimonial to his capacity." (P. 4.)

* Hints for the Security of the Established Church.

In p. 8. he says, "nothing truly can be more unbecoming than that folly, nonsense, and impiety should be spoken in the name of the God of truth:" he subjoins, "but are we then to suffer these men to teach absurdity and impiety with impunity? undoubtedly we are; for so the master of the household has himself decided!!!"

It is certain that any absurdity however gross, and any impiety not forbidden by the law, may be preached by any licensed dissenter in any licensed place of religious worship without liability to punishment, except by the religious society to which the individual belongs; but even in case of expulsion from that society, he may still avail himself of his license, and go on preaching in the same strain in as many rooms in *ale-houses* or elsewhere as he may choose to hire, and to obtain a license for; for certain we fear it is, that by the *letter* of the 1st of W. and M. a demand made under that act for the license of any *place* of religious worship cannot be legally refused. Is not this, however, in itself, a sufficient proof of the dreadful tendency of the doctrine set up and maintained by almost all dissenters, and their partizans; and of the absolute necessity of caution and circumspection with respect to the characters of those to whom licenses are to be granted; of some presumption at least of a decent portion of moral and intellectual qualification? It also appears to us to be important on many accounts, and even with a view to the maintenance of the discipline of dissenters themselves, that the expulsion of a licensed preacher from the religious society to which he belongs should cancel his license. With respect to Mr. Belsham's assertion concerning "the master of the household," it appears to us to be extravagant and wholly groundless. We wish he had stated the passage or passages of scripture by virtue of which he has thought himself at liberty to make such an assertion*. But to return; although the interference of the legislature, for the purpose which, in the opinion of the writer we formerly quoted, appeared to call for it, is deprecated by Mr. Belsham, he declares it to be necessary on other accounts.

"It has been asked," he says, "why did your lordship disturb what was previously at rest? what occasion was there to bring forward the question? In reply to this, I, my lord, for one, am of opinion, that there was sufficient reason for proposing some amendment in the law relating to the liberty of religious worship. It was high time that the law of the land should be understood. It surely is not decorous, nor right, that what is law in one county

* We have just seen a sermon, preached last August, at the triennial visitation at Chichester, by the Rev. Dr. Goddard; in which the subject of church government, and particularly of self-appointment, are discussed with great ability.

should not be law in another. I confess that I should have expected from that respectable body to whom the civil interests of the dissenters have been committed, that they would have applied long ago to the Court of King's Bench* for a mandamus to put a stop to these dangerous innovations. In the mean time it surely could not be very improper for your lordship to come forward, and in your legislative capacity to propose arrangements to put a stop to this strange and growing anomaly." (P. 32, 33.)

On the expediency of parliamentary interference we have here the opinion of an earnest, though in many respects liberal, dissenter, and on this point we certainly never met with any diversity of sentiment amongst the members of the church of England. Previous to the introduction of the bill, the attention of the House of Lords was, in two succeeding sessions, called to the subject of it by motions for information, of which it was material that parliament should be possessed. On each of these occasions Lord Sidmouth's language appears to have been prudent and conciliatory. He declared that he felt as strongly as any one what was due to the right of private judgment in matters of religious faith, and to the freedom of public worship; that his object was not to alter, but, by the suppression of abuses, to carry into effect the existing laws of toleration, and even to extend the limits of toleration itself; that, so far from being actuated by a spirit of hostility to dissenters, he should propose nothing of which he should not be desirous, if he was a sober-minded and conscientious dissenter himself; that he therefore hoped for the concurrence of persons of that description, as, whatever might be the difference of opinion on points of doctrine and discipline between them and the members of the church of England, all had an equal interest, and an equal duty in upholding and preserving the reverence that was due to the religion which they all professed.

On the 9th of May the bill was presented to the House of Lords; and was found, in its provisions, to be strictly consistent with this declaration. It was understood to have been previously approved of by the heads of the church, by the lead-

* The author of the "Remarks," a zealous churchman, says, in p. 10, after having stated his opinion that an explanation of that statute was necessary, "As to the idea of Lord Erskine, that the point may soon be settled by suing for a mandamus from the Court of King's Bench, who will be forced to try the question; to my knowledge this has been offered to the methodists to try the matter on amicable grounds, and it has been refused. The obvious answer is, 'No! We will not run any risk; the magistrates of the next county will give a licence without hesitation, and without difficulty. It is possible we may have a decision in the Court of King's Bench against us; we will take care to avoid hazarding it.'"

ing members of the government, by persons of great respectability amongst the dissenters, and particularly by that class of separatists to whom the new regulations, which it proposed to enact, specially applied. How far the conduct of some of these persons agreed with their previous declarations we will not at present discuss.

The purposes of the bill are candidly described by Mr. Belsham.

“The bill has been much misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. Your lordship’s design was to exclude from the christian ministry the ignorant and the vicious; to extend the benefits of legal toleration to many respectable persons, who are now protected only by connivance; to render the law intelligible and uniform, and to make it imperative upon the magistrate in cases to which the statute was intended to apply.” (P. 3.)

The objects of the several provisions of the bill were,

“First, to declare and enact that no person was entitled to qualify himself to officiate, as a dissenting minister, under the act of 1. Wm. and M. or 19th of Geo. III. unless he had been previously appointed to be the preacher or teacher of a separate congregation of dissenting protestants; next, to require that every such person, previous to taking the oaths, &c. should produce a certificate of such appointment, signed by three licensed dissenting ministers of the same religious persuasion as himself, or six substantial and reputable* householders belonging to his own congregation; and that such person, having so qualified, should be entitled to all the exemptions, privileges, and immunities, granted by the said acts.

“Thirdly, to enact, that any person, *not* having been appointed the preacher of a separate congregation, who wished to qualify himself to officiate as a dissenting minister, should, previous to his taking the oaths, &c. produce a certificate signed by six substantial and reputable householders, that they believed him to be a protestant dissenting minister[†] of their own sect or persuasion, that they had known him for two years immediately preceding, and that he was a person of sober life and conversation, and, as they believed, of sufficient ability and fitness to officiate as a dissenting minister †.

* To the words “substantial and reputable,” an objection was taken upon the supposition that they would give a discretion to magistrates. This objection Lord S. expressed his intention to obviate by an amendment in the committee.

† We cannot deny, that according to the spirit of the 1. of W. and M. which was intended to comprehend all classes of dissenters, it is reasonable and proper to extend to this new and anomalous description of sectarian preachers the benefit of toleration, so far as to afford them, upon such conditions as are here proposed, protection from disabilities and penalties; we must nevertheless acknowledge, that we strongly feel the force of numerous objections to an itinerant ministry; and that we have only a stronger sense of the evils that must arise

.. "Fourthly, to enact, that any person, upon producing a certificate from three licensed dissenting ministers of his own persuasion, that he had been appointed a probationer for the exercise of the functions of a minister of religion for a time to be limited; that they had known him for the space of one year, immediately preceding, and that he was a person of sober life and conversation, was entitled to take the oaths, &c. and to officiate as a dissenting minister for a period not exceeding two years.

"Fifthly, to confirm all former licenses, and to secure from penalties all those by whom they might have been obtained."

Such a measure, the purposes of which were to restore the legitimate interpretation, and to give uniformity to the execution of highly popular laws, and to enlarge the sphere of toleration in a manner which did not, in any degree, affect the doctrines or discipline of those who were to be the objects of it, appeared likely to be received by dissenters with complacency at least, if not with approbation and gratitude. It was, however, assailed with such torrents of misrepresentation, as encouraged the very few, who, in the first discussion, had shown a disposition to oppose it; intimidated many of those persons in situations of authority by whom it had been approved; and produced a result deeply and for ever to be lamented by every one who feels for the freedom, the dignity, and the honour of parliament.

"I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty,
When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of," &c. &c.

MILTON'S Sonnets.

We forbear to quote the remainder of this sonnet of Milton, although the greater part is far from inapplicable.

Indeed, a yell at once so senseless and effectual was, we are confident, never before raised in this country. The House of Lords was inundated with petitions, to the real authors of which we shall presently advert. For three days the metropolis was in a most extraordinary state. Such was the demand for penmen to transcribe petitions, that during that period the business of conveyancing was nearly at a stand; even the progress of marriage settlements was suspended, and the bliss of impatient lovers cruelly delayed. Each petition made two journeys:

from a deficiency of religious instruction; evils, which, to the discredit of those by whom they ought to be prevented, are in many parts of the kingdom chiefly averted by such means as are supplied by these irregular preachers. To immunities, it is admitted, that these persons have no pretensions.

each had its *locus à quo* and its *locus ad quem*, and each returned to the place from whence it came (viz. Fleet-street, or elsewhere) before it reached the House of Lords. Stage-coaches in all directions, *eundo et redeundo*, were so laden with the lamentations of the faithful, as to exclude inside passengers as completely as do the Norfolk turkies at Christmas. To old parliamentary reformers this mode of obtaining petitions was not new. In 1792-3 a society, not yet forgotten by the nation, pursued, (as there are many persons now living who well remember,) exactly the same course. They had improvidently declared, that they would not urge the measure of reform unless called upon by the people, upon whom, however, they called most vehemently; but as it was feared that the people might not be so fully aware of the good intended for them as to come forward without an additional impulse, the society benevolently undertook to prepare, and to send into the country for signature, the petitions by which they were themselves to be instigated*. Then too it happened, as in the late instance, that most of the petitions were expressed in the same terms, and a large proportion of the names subjoined were in the same hand-writing. On both occasions all considerations of age and sex on the part of those who signed the petitions were utterly disregarded. But the legislature and the government of 1793 were not to be intimidated.

Mr. Belsham candidly acknowledges, that "it was owing to the energetic and unparalleled exertions of the general meeting of protestant dissenters, and of other friends to religious liberty, convened by public advertisement at the London Tavern, on the 15th of May, that the host of petitions against the bill was procured, which astonished the house and the public." (Vide note, p. 34.)

And it was, probably, at this motley meeting, (which must have resembled the large cage at the top of the Hay-market, containing an incongruous assemblage of animals in a state of mutual forbearance and apparent good humour, though possessed with the strongest natural antipathies,) that Mr. B. was first struck with "the extraordinary unanimity of persons, most hostile to each other in their religious sentiments, in their efforts to procure the rejection, in its earliest stage," of a bill, which in the same paragraph he acknowledges, "extended, to say the least of it, legal toleration on one side, as much as it

* This reminds us of Mr. Wilkes's declaration, that he always obeyed the instructions of his constituents, but that he took special care to draw them up himself.

restrained it on the other." (P. 1, 2.) What was the contribution from the methodists towards the composition of this heterogeneous meeting we have not heard; but it appears that they had previously thought proper to speak for themselves through the general committee of their societies, which met at the New Chapel, City Road, on the 14th of May, and there and then came to sundry resolutions; the sum and substance of which is, that if the bill passed into a law, it would curtail the *privileges and exemptions* to which the regular preachers of the methodist connection were now *entitled* under the toleration act; that their local preachers and exhorters would find it difficult, if not impracticable, to obtain licences; and that "as a large proportion of their societies considered themselves members of the established church, to which they were conscientiously attached, such persons could not in future apply for licences; because to obtain them they must declare themselves *dissenting* ministers." We now desire to remind our readers of the title of the 1 W. and M. and of the 19 G. iii.*, from which it is manifest that the benefit of these acts cannot be legally obtained by any member of the established church; and consequently that every *such* person who has qualified under either of them, and obtained the privileges and exemptions which either of them confers, has obtained his licence, and such privileges and exemptions, by means of a false and fraudulent pretence. That a great number of persons of the methodist persuasion have so qualified and obtained licences and immunities we are perfectly aware—and it cannot be doubted that the circumstance was perfectly *well known* to many of those who signed the petitions.

We are unwilling to impute unworthy motives to any man or body of men; but we confess ourselves unable to account for the conduct of this anomalous class of seceders (we must not say dissenters) in their zealous co-operation with sectaries of all descriptions, to crush the bill in its earliest stage, except upon the supposition that they thought it material to prevent a discussion, which might eventually expose past frauds and evasions, and prevent them in future; and further, that they hoped by the force of combined efforts to get rid of the conventicle act, and of other acts intended for the security of "the established church, of which a large proportion of these persons pretend

* Title of the 1st of W. and M. c. 18. "An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects, *dissenting* from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws."

Title of the 19th Geo. 3. c. 4. "An act for the further relief of protestant *dissenting* ministers and schoolmasters."

to consider themselves as members, and to which they profess to be warmly attached." Never, indeed, were mortals placed in a more awkward predicament than those who wished to pass for churchmen, and at the same time to enjoy the benefits of dissent. Never was the miserable policy of "sinister dexterity" more completely exposed. The dread of the conventicle act, and of the militia, pressed them on the one hand, and conscience, we are willing to believe, occasioned some qualms on the other: but the contest too frequently proved unequal; and fear and interest prevailed. This, however, it must be acknowledged, has not been the case universally: several persons of the same religious connection have disdained, as we have reason to believe, to purchase protection and immunities by fraud and evasion.

For the principal difficulties attending their present situation the methodists have only to blame themselves. Thanks to the discussion on the late bill, and to the publications which it occasioned in the various forms of resolutions, and of pamphlets,—impostures, evasions, and frauds, which before were little known, are fully exposed. Still very many of this description of separatists have shewn, that they prefer the chance of being enabled to persist in such practices, or of the continued connivance of magistrates, to the beneficent, honest, and sure protection of law, which was proffered to them. In pursuance of this system they have become connected with the body of real protestant dissenters, the far greater part of whom are actuated by a spirit of decided hostility to the established church; and in whose minds, if there exist any sentiment as strong as hostility to the church, it is contempt for those with whom they are thus associated, and to whom they cannot therefore be desirous that those benefits should be extended, to which, under the strict construction of law, they have themselves been so long exclusively entitled. The conduct of the sectaries, to whom we are now alluding, has on this occasion resembled that of the adherents of their predecessors in 1689, when the comprehension bill was under discussion, which, it is said by Bishop Burnett, was not supported by those who seemed most favourable to the dissenters. "They set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in church and state, and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the presbyterians" (for these read methodists) "to be made more easy. So this great design, being zealously opposed and but faintly supported, fell to the ground*." To persons of this de-

* Bishop Burnett's History of his own Time, v. ii. p. 11.

scription the bill in question did not, to say the least of it, afford the slightest pretence for complaint. But an opportunity of making a display of strength and influence was not to be lost; and the importance of obtaining for that purpose an increase of noise and numbers from any quarter could not be overlooked. The first fruits of this union have been the defeat of a measure, to the principle and purpose of which every one ought to have shown favour, who felt what was due to the sanctity and influence of religion. The next consequence will be a concerted and combined attack on all the acts of the legislature relating to religion; and amongst them on their own palladium of religious liberty, the act of toleration, which indeed must fall of course, if the other acts are done away. This reminds us of the old jacobins (*a race not yet extinct in this country*), who were perpetually pleading the principles of the constitution which they laboured to destroy, in opposition to all the measures which were proposed for its preservation. In fact, jacobins and dissenters, though actuated, as we are willing to believe, by very different views, are pursuing a course that obviously leads to the same result. The destruction of the state necessarily involves that of the church; the destruction of which no less certainly involves that of the state; and who can pretend to say that the former would or could survive the accomplishment of the projects which have been publicly and in high places distinctly avowed*?

If that day should arrive, and arrive it will, unless in future there should be more vigour and prudence in certain quarters than have lately appeared, what will be the feelings of methodists, and what their situation? "A large proportion of them," as they have themselves assured us, "are attached to the church," and we have no reason to suppose that any of them are disaffected to the state; and yet they will have contributed to bury both in one common ruin. Under the cir-

* "They are aware that the worst consequences might happen to the public in accomplishing this double ruin of church and state; but they are so heated with their theories, that they give more than hints, that this ruin, with all the mischiefs that must lead to it and attend it, and which to themselves appear quite certain, is not to be prevented."

between church and state, says, 'perhaps we must wait for the fall of the civil powers, before this most unnatural alliance be broken. Calamitous, no doubt, will that time be. But what convulsion in the political world ought to be a subject of lamentation, if it be attended with so desirable an effect?' You see with what a steady eye these gentlemen are prepared to view the greatest calamities which can befall their country!"

circumstances of such a catastrophe a struggle for superiority would ensue. Are they presumptuous or weak enough to feel confident that as a religious body they would long survive such a convulsion? They may be assured that their professed attachment to the principles, to the faith, and liturgy of our church, would in itself be sufficient to unite all other dissenters, however inconsistent in other respects, in a common cause for their destruction. And have they read the instructive page of history? If they have, they may surely derive a lesson from the past conduct of the sectaries, with whom they are now connected, when possessed of authority and power. The individuals are changed, but the spirit of the sects is the same. Into the particulars of that conduct we will not now enter. Let them, however, be diligently inquired into, and seriously reflected upon by those to whom we are thus offering a friendly admonition. Let them beware of their new associates, of whom they are at this time in a great degree the dupes and instruments, and of whom they may possibly become the victims.

But let us not be misunderstood. We have a scrupulous and tender regard for the DISSENTING CONSCIENCE, and the highest respect for the character and conduct of many enlightened dissenters. But we have no respect or regard whatever for what may be called the DISSENTING INTEREST, that is, for those who make a cloak of religion to cover their private purposes, and to obtain for themselves the power and influence of a party. And we have the utmost contempt for those persons *not dissenters*, who flatter and encourage what they must believe (if they are honest men) to be dangerous error, and who condescend to purchase by duplicity and hypocrisy the rewards of popularity. Convinced as we have often declared ourselves to be, that the preservation of the established church can alone secure to England the enjoyment of toleration, and the continuance of pure and undefiled religion, we should appear hypocrites to ourselves had we shrunk from stating what is contained in this and former articles on the same subject. We are rejoiced to perceive that a strong and salutary impression has been made in this country upon all classes of the community.

It is nevertheless to causes which cannot be contemplated but with the highest satisfaction, we mean the increased influence of religion, and an augmented population, that the increase of the number of separatists is in some degree to be ascribed. Of this number the far greater part, as we have often observed, has been excluded from the church by the inadequacy of the means of accommodating those who have wished to attend it's

service. Of these, many we fear are become permanently connected with the religious societies whose places of worship they have frequented, and many are become the dupes of imposture, or the victims of fanaticism.

Under these circumstances, we must again and again press the conclusion, that a twofold duty is imposed upon those to whose guardianship the welfare of the people is entrusted. If "religion is the root of all the virtues, and the stay of all well ordered commonwealths, it follows that pure and unstained religion ought to be the first care of public government;" and how can that care be more usefully manifested than by the adoption of such means as are calculated to keep religious instruction out of incompetent, or at least polluted, channels? While testimonials of learning, and scriptural knowledge, and good character, are *required*, as they most properly are, from all persons applying for episcopal ordination; it surely cannot be fit that no regard whatever should be shown for even the moral qualifications of those, who, though they differ from the church in points (often minute) of doctrine or discipline, are nevertheless to perform the functions of ministers of our holy religion. It cannot surely be deemed inconsistent with the principles of toleration, that from such persons some test should be required, if not of doctrine, at least of competency, for the important office which they propose to undertake. Upon this ground, we hope that the legislature will stand fast; and if ever it should be disposed to extend its protection to those who, not being settled ministers of separate places of worship, are found by the late decision to be without the pale of the existing toleration, we confidently trust that there will be required from them, before they are permitted to officiate, a test of sufficiency, at least as strong as that which, with respect to persons qualifying under the present laws, can only be inferred from their appointments to be preachers of congregations.

The other duty to which we have adverted, is that which is urgently called for by the state of our church establishment; which, in the language of Mr. Burke, is "first and last, and midst in our minds." He has truly said that "a great majority of the people of England do not consider this establishment as convenient, but as essential to the state. They consider it as the foundation of their whole constitution, with which, and with every part of which it holds an indissoluble union." It is in their opinion the best calculated to answer the end of all religion. It is that which has settled, and which might preserve the pure and noble standard of morals, by which this country is

distinguished; which is the source of our social and domestic happiness, the safeguard of our liberties, and, we will add, the main instrument of our national prosperity and power.

We have accordingly all the inducements arising from a just view of our duty to God, our country, and ourselves, to animate our zeal and exertions for its preservation and improvement. From various causes, and particularly from recent occurrences, a strong sense of the necessity of resorting to efficient measures for this purpose is showing itself in various parts of the kingdom: and in the metropolis, we rejoice to observe, that it has been manifested by the formation of a society, under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with the view of promoting, upon an extensive scale, the education of the children of the poor in the principles of the church of England *. Should the wisdom of the plan correspond, as we have no doubt it will, with the nobleness of the design, it will assuredly meet with general support; under a conviction that it must necessarily tend to improve the condition of society, and to develop the means by which the moral grandeur of the state is to be secured upon its only substantial basis—the sound principles, and the virtue of the people. But to accomplish its great and ultimate object, it must have the co-operation of legislative measures. Our church must be enabled to afford the means of public worship to all those who may be desirous of attending its service. For it would be a gross inconsistency, and a mockery, that a plan of this description should be adopted, and that the best and only effectual means should be neglected of cherishing and preserving the principles, which it is its main purpose to instil. But we are inclined to indulge better hopes; to consider this institution, which has been just announced, as the dawn of a brighter day; and to cherish the persuasion, that as by union, well directed zeal, and persevering exertions, the loyal part of the nation succeeded, as we gratefully remember, in averting from it the miseries of democracy; the piety and patriotism of the true friends to our ecclesiastical establishment will by similar means, and without the slightest infringement on the sound principles of an enlightened toleration, be enabled to check the progress of a widely extended schism, which threatens the stability of the church and the state, by the abuse of legislative benevolence.

* See Appendix to this number.

ART. XIX. *Self-Controul; a Novel.* Edinburgh. 1811.

THERE are a great many well-meaning writers, who with very little knowledge of the manner in which vicious thoughts obtain possession of the heart, but with a misplaced confidence in their own powers, persuade themselves that the most effectual way of encountering depravity is to set before the young scenes of possible temptation, the better to guard them against its influence when it actually arrives.

In the prosecution of this good design they furnish an abundance of defensive arguments, of spirited exhortation, and lively painting of the misery that waits upon vice. If they can but work up the description of the penalty to a level with the gratification, all, in their judgement, is made secure. But in this calculation nothing is allowed for the casuistry of the passions, which is always telling us in flattering whispers that in our own superior prudence we shall find the means of enjoyment, with an immunity from the ordinary consequences.

There are, indeed, very few novels, romances, or tales (we are aware of some noble exceptions to this remark in our own language) among those which are written with a professed, and perhaps a sincere intention of inculcating moral principles, which do not inadvertently administer nourishment to the passions. The perils of youthful innocence, and the stratagems of the accomplished seducer, are topics which carry a very imposing air of instruction: and we have no doubt that the virtuous young reader is in theory and sentiment wholly on the virtuous side. But while our better nature is engaged in deducing from these amorous conflicts, glowing scenes, and amiable struggles, maxims of speculative wisdom; prurient curiosity is on the tip-toe, the thoughts are idly busy, and the sensibilities, after being so often carried to the verge of forbidden pleasure, begin at last to feel something too like disappointment at the escapes of chastity and the triumphs of innocence. Ignorance is bliss where it is dangerous to be wise. It is, therefore, hard upon youth and innocence that it *must* be led into this danger before its own good time, and robbed of its negative security, because a matronly authoress of experience is bursting with information on a slippery science, of which

“ ——— to know no more,

Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.”

We are, for these reasons, persuaded that the world is little indebted to those sapient writers of novels, who exercise their

faculties in representing vice, at once in its strongest characters of physical allurements and moral torpitude. The baite is usually much too powerful for the antidote. Those "frigid villains" who have retired within their closets, "only for the refinement of debauchery," have well understood this truth. There is, therefore, scarcely any one of those pestilent productions, whose purpose it is to arm the passions against the happiness of man, which does not begin a little to cant towards the conclusion, well knowing, that in consulting the success of their mischief, a spice of interdiction will not diminish its zest.

The poison soon circulates with the juices of the system, and speedily penetrates too far to be overtaken by halting advice. There is a balsam in our minds like that which enriches our blood, which when destroyed, it is hardly within the compass of moral medicine, or all the aromatic virtue of argument or counsel to restore.

The objection, therefore, which we feel to all that class of novels which present to us the conflicts of chastity with brutal passion, is this,—that under their sanction unchaste images are forced upon the mind of the female reader, and while she is told what it is her duty to shun, she is at the same time well informed of what she loses by her abstinence. "*Discunt hæc miseræ antequam sciunt vitia esse, inde solutæ et fluentes non accipiunt ex scholis mala ista, sed in scholis afferunt.*"

We are of opinion, therefore, that few if any novels can with safety be put into the hands of our daughters; and that a large part of the ruin which befalls them results from the early initiation of their minds into the mysteries to which we have been alluding. With respect to the novel, which we have now taken up more for the sake of throwing out a few observations on this subject than from any importance we attach to it, we are ready to give the author, or more probably the authoress, (for we think we discern clear indicia of feminine composition) full credit for the best possible intention; but we can by no means except the work out of the case to which our remarks are meant to be applicable. It is the story of a young woman very virtuous and chaste, and we admit very interesting in many points. In her conduct is displayed all that the sentimentalist could desire of love and feeling, duty and distraction, but unfortunately she does not appear to be able to check, like Milton's Eve, the licentious and brutal desires by which our sex is debased. It is thus that Adam describes the sanctity of our first parent:

"Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complete, so well to know

Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
 Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls
 Degraded. Wisdom in discourse with her
 Loses; discount'nanced, and like folly shews;
 Authority and reason on her wait,
 As one intended first, not after made
 Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic placed."

As for poor Laura, she is assailed in a summer-house, and critically rescued; she is carried off in a curricule; she is transported across the ocean; she is importuned at the grave of her mother; and the church is no sanctuary from the fury of her suitors. She is presented to us in all the fainting, dying, and dissolving predicaments, in which the warm imagination of the writer could place her without giving her up to final ruin. Seduction encounters her at the very entrance of her career, and never leaves her till the catastrophe demands that it should be put an end to. The seducer chooses the grave of the mother as the scene of his shameless proposals. He is of course rejected with horror, but he is admitted again in the character of a probationary lover. During the period of his probation some episodic amours are brought to a happy conclusion, as if by the facility of their accomplishment to give additional glory to the self-controuling magnanimity of the heroine.

But notwithstanding these attractive ingredients, and the imposing apparatus of duelling, adultery, and suicide, the story moves on heavily through its protracted pages, and the reader becomes more and more lethargic as the distress increases, till at length when the fair fugitive sinks down to sleep in the Indian canoe, he takes the opportunity of yielding himself up to his own slumbers, lulled by the roar of the cataract.

The style of the book is in general affected without point, and by constantly endeavouring to strike, perpetually overshoots the understanding of the reader. The attempts at wit are bungling, and the only character with which it is endeavoured to be blended, and which seems to be an imitation of Lady G. in Sir Charles Grandison, is on a level with its model in flippancy and want of feeling, but exceeds it greatly in vulgarity. For humour the author resorts to the never-failing fund of slip-slop phraseology. Of the manners of fashionable life she seems to have a very commendable ignorance, but to have painted them with force, she should have known them with accuracy. She

seems to have looked into our old plays for specimens of these manners. These manners are detestable in many respects, and we always rejoice in their exposure; but as they are perpetually shifting, nothing can be more absurd than to borrow the representation of them from the common places of antiquated ridicule. It would be an uneasy task to mark the instances of vulgarity which are but too frequent in these volumes; we shall only mention two instances, which, considering the character of the speaker, are quite shocking to delicacy.

"You are in the midst of a happy family," says Laura to Harriet, "endeared to you by all that is lovely in virtue; all that is sacred in kindred. I know not what would tempt me to resign your situation." "What would tempt you?" cried Harriet, "why a pretty fellow would."

Again, the same Harriet talking with Miss Montreville about Mr. Bolingbroke, who was then paying his addresses to her.

"'The man has good legs,' said Harriet, plaiting the fingers of her gloves with great industry."

And this from the accomplished sister of the accomplished De Courcy.

The piety which the author has with excellent meaning infused into the work, mixes with the story like oil with water. It is, indeed, a sort of profanation to introduce religion among the tumults and agitations of love adventures; it must in such scenes always hold a secondary place. If it is to be introduced at all, let it appear in its unsullied graces, its calm dignity, its appropriate lustre. The pure and holy fervors which are due to the Almighty, to be properly felt and rendered, must meet a correspondent frame of mind; a mind prepared and chastised: it cannot be presented genuine to the reader's thoughts amidst a crowd of sensations produced by tales and descriptions merely human, and partly sensual. Independently of this consideration we have no objection to the following passage, which we have thought proper to extract, because it recommends a practice, which if the novel before us shall in any degree promote, we will forgive, for its sake, all the faults of the general execution, and implore the author, in spite of our ignorant criticism, to favour us with fresh efforts of her pen.

The conclusion of the evening in the De Courcy family, two of which are drawn with considerable force, and represented in very amiable colours, is thus described.

"With a manner serious and earnest, as one impressed with a just sense of their importance, Montague read a portion of the Holy

Scriptures. He closed the volume; and all present sunk upon their knees. In plain but solemn language, he offered a petition in the name of all, that all might be endowed with the graces of the christian spirit. In the name of all, he confessed that they were unworthy of the blessings they implored. In the name of all, he gave thanks for the means of improvement, and for the hopes of glory. He next, more particularly, besought a blessing on the circumstances of their several conditions. Among the joyous faces of this happy household, Laura had observed one alone clouded with sorrow. It was that of a young modest-looking girl in deep mourning, whose audible sobs attested that she was the subject of a prayer which commended an orphan to the Father of the fatherless. The worship was closed; the servants withdrew. A silence of a few moments ensued; and Laura could not help gazing with delight, not unmingled with awe, on the traces of serene benevolence and manly piety which lingered on the countenance of De Courcy."

As it really appears to us that the author has at heart the best interests of her fellow-beings, and is withal endued with some vivacity, some powers of lively description, and no small degree of force where nature is not sacrificed to ambition, to which qualifications experience may yet add the faculty of compression, we should be sorry not to meet her again in the same capacity, and shall, upon future occasions, be happy to witness her improvement, and to compensate for our present want of gallantry, and the rustic sincerity of our remarks.

ART. XX. *An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a View of its past and present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Inquiry into our Prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occasions.* By T. R. Malthus, A.M. &c. &c. &c. London: Johnson. 1807. 2 vols. fourth edit.

As the new census of our population appears likely, from some of the returns already obtained, to exhibit a considerable increase above that which was taken ten years ago, our attention is naturally drawn to the publication of Mr. Malthus. If his theory be unquestionable in all its parts, this increase will be a national evil instead of a national benefit. But we will not hesitate to avow, that a calm deliberation on the subject has led us, and on grounds not hitherto brought before the public, to differ in some essential points from the popular work before us.

We are therefore anxious to state to our readers what we conceive to be the real dispensation of Providence with respect to the principle of population. Much of the apparent increase of the present census may indeed be ascribed to the superior accuracy which results from an improvement in the method of making and collecting the returns, and from the emancipation of the minds of the vulgar from their former jealousy concerning the objects of government. But after a due allowance for these circumstances, we believe that a positive increase of population will be found to have occurred since the last returns; and this fact brings directly to our contemplation the general principle of Mr. Malthus's book.

We are sorry to be obliged to admit the justice of his imputation upon most of those who have hitherto attempted to refute his arguments; and of the little which they have produced, "the greatest part so full of iliberal declamation, and so entirely destitute of argument, as to be evidently beneath notice." (Vol. ii. p. 42.)

We confine, however, our admission of the truth of this complaint to what has been written in answer to Mr. M.'s *general arguments*. In his *practical inferences* with respect to our own country, we think that he has been more than once successfully answered; indeed the various modifications he has himself introduced in his several editions appear to us to amount, in some instances, to something little short of a direct retraction; and we would recommend no caution more strongly to the readers of Mr. Malthus's essay, than that of carefully distinguishing between the practical measures recommended, and those obviously deducible from the principles laid down. An insight will thus be acquired, not only into the nature of the principles themselves, but, we are happy to think, also into the amiable disposition and enlightened humanity of the author. Our present limits will not allow us to consider much more than the *general arguments* and conclusions, which we must confess have been hitherto attacked in a mode which has usually added much to their strength.

The principles of Mr. Malthus's theory are now so well known, that it will be sufficient briefly to remind our readers of their general nature, as they are developed in his two first chapters.

Population in very favourable circumstances (in the newly settled countries of America for example) has been found to double itself every twenty-five years; that rate, therefore, is as-

sumed to be (at the least) its *natural* rate of increase, which might go on *ad infinitum*, if interrupted by no checks. But it is evident that the increase of food (land being an absolute quantity) could by no methods be augmented to such an indefinite extent. It might possibly double itself for once in twenty-five years, while the best lands remained uncultivated; but so far from following up this ratio of increase in subsequent periods, it cannot even be supposed possible that its produce could be augmented even in the simple ratio of its original quantity.

“The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase,” (says Mr. Malthus, and we beg our readers to bear the passage in mind) “when brought together will be very striking. Let us call the population of this island eleven millions, and suppose the present produce equal to the easy support of such a number. In the first twenty-five years the population would be twenty-two millions, and the food being also doubled, the means of subsistence would be equal to this increase. In the next twenty-five years the population would be forty-four millions; and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of thirty-three millions. In the next period the population would be eighty-eight millions, and the means of subsistence just equal to the support of half that number. And at the conclusion of the first century the population would be 176 millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of fifty-five millions, leaving a population of 121 millions totally unprovided for.”

Extending this reasoning to the whole earth, it will be found that the population of the world would increase in a geometrical ratio as 1.2.4.8.16.32.64.128.256., and subsistence only in an arithmetical ratio, as 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9. In two centuries the population would be to the possible means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries, as 4,096 to 13; and as of course there are ultimate limits to the produce of the earth, an end must come to any increase in the supply of food, while the principle of population still retains its full force.—Such is the account rendered by Mr. Malthus of the dispensation of Providence with respect to the *natural power* of increase in mankind, and their subsistence respectively; and we cannot but think that if true, it affords a most singular and extraordinary exception to the admirable adaptation of means to ends which is so beautifully prominent in every other arrangement of the Creator.

But as it is evident that in point of fact, mankind, unable to exist without food, do not increase in the abovementioned geo-

metrical ratio, but precisely in that in which food is produced for their support; Mr. Malthus, in his second chapter, enumerates what he is pleased to call the *checks* to this exuberant power of production. They consist of "all those customs, and all those diseases, which seem to be generated by a scarcity of the means of subsistence; and all those causes, independent of this scarcity, whether of a moral or physical nature, which tend prematurely to weaken or destroy the human frame." These checks may be classed under two general heads, the preventive and the positive; the FORMER consisting of prudential abstinence from marriage, which when accompanied by irregular intercourse between the sexes, produces aggravated vice and misery; when accompanied by moral restraint produces comparative comfort. The LATTER, consisting of every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree tends to shorten the duration or repress the productive power of human life; such as extreme poverty, wars, diseases, famine, pestilence, and the like. The obstacles to the increase of population, therefore, whether classed under the positive or preventive checks, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice or misery. And as the former (explained to mean an abstinence from marriage, unaccompanied by irregular gratification,) is the only mode of escaping the encounter of the two latter in some form or other, it is evident that upon this theory the whole onus of counteracting, consistently with human happiness and virtue, the immense disproportion of the relative powers of increase above enumerated, rests entirely upon this single conservative principle. It follows of course also, that the more it can be made to operate, the greater portion of virtue and happiness will be found in society. And as it is upon the lower ranks that the vice and misery alleged to arise from a redundant population particularly press, it evidently becomes the duty of governments so to model their political arrangements as to lend encouragement to such protracted abstinence from marriage, from the moment that the produce of the land after its first period of doubling sinks into the regular arithmetical progress, or in plainer terms, from the moment that a country emerges from the purely agricultural state of society into one compounded of agriculture and commerce. Such is the theory, and such are its consequences.

Granting the premises, it is indeed perfectly obvious that this conclusion is undeniable. Once persuade a man against all experience that the oak in his field hath a natural tendency to increase *ad infinitum* in the same ratio as during the first fifty years, and may in time overshadow his whole estate, unless checked by the axe, and his prudent course of conduct will not

long remain doubtful. But when we consider the absolute impossibility of such a general system of abstinence at once from marriage and from sensuality, where, according to the theory, it is most requisite, i. e. among the lower orders of any country in such a state of society, (which indeed is fully admitted by Mr. Malthus); we confess our utter inability to reconcile his practical conclusions either with the nature of man, or the plain dictates of religion upon the subject of marriage. But it is not by starting doubts and difficulties that the system, however apparently inconsistent with the goodness and justice of the Creator, can be shaken. We shall therefore proceed without delay to state the course which we are about to pursue on this occasion, and we trust that the result will at least be very much to modify Mr. Malthus's doctrine.

What he professes to have done (see preface, p. vii.) in addition to the arguments found in the writings of others, is to state the subject more philosophically, to illustrate more fully, by reference to history, the various modes by which the level is preserved between population and the means of subsistence, and to draw new practical inferences of a general nature for the political conduct of states. Now these appear to us to be precisely the faulty parts of the work. Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu, Mr. Townshend, and other writers, who seem to have believed in the natural tendency of population towards a too rapid increase, either state the fact incidentally to illustrate some partial phenomena in society, or draw their conclusions from a very confined view of it under an imperfect administration, where slavery, ignorance, or tyranny, evidently checked the industry of the people. Even the state of society in the boasted republics of ancient Greece cannot be exonerated from some part of this imputation; and those of Spain and France were too palpably open to it. Observations, therefore, with respect to the vice and misery arising from the difficulty of procuring subsistence, drawn from the view of those countries, seem to us only to prove that they had not yet adopted that system of polity for the government of the mass of their inhabitants, which is consistent with the views and ordinations of Providence. But the mode in which Mr. Malthus attempts to adapt these confined observations to the general laws of the world, appears to us to be open to the following objections. The philosophical statement of the subject is defective in one of its main branches—the statement of the *natural* tendency of population to increase. The historical references appear to have been made (as Mr. Malthus indeed, in his preface seems partly to admit), with a mind predisposed to the theory with which it was impressed, and professedly in

search of facts to corroborate it. And the practical inferences, (as far as they rest upon the peculiar arguments arising out of the principle of population,) are not borne out by the premises; can in no case be *justifiably* acted upon; and are very evidently inapplicable to the advanced stages of society in a free and extensive Christian country; being calculated, as we conceive, rather to check its progress in wealth and happiness, than to promote it.

Of each of these heads in their order.

The origin of what are conceived to be the modern mistakes, and false reasonings, with respect to the principle of population, seems to be the assumption of a general tendency to increase in the human species, the quickest that can be proved possible in any particular state of society, as that which is natural and theoretically possible in all; and the characterising of every cause which tends to prevent such quickest possible rate, as *checks* to the natural and spontaneous tendency of population to increase; but as checks evidently insufficient to stem the progress of an overwhelming torrent. This is as eligible a mode of reasoning, as if one were to assume the height of the Irish giant, as the natural standard of the stature of man, and to call every reason which may be suggested as likely to prevent the generality of men from reaching it, *checks* upon their growth. The natural and spontaneous tendency of the principle of population in distinct states of society varies it's rate with every difference in their political condition: it is no more the same in the manufacturing, as it is in the agricultural, or in this as in the pastoral states of society, than the natural growth of an oak on a mountain top in Scotland, is the same as it would be in the rich valleys of the New Forest. But the term *check* of course implies the prevention of that, which would otherwise naturally take place; it is, therefore, very incorrectly applied to denote a relative difference, invariably fixed by the primary laws of nature, and the immutable decrees of providence. From the deception caused by the wrong use of this term, we find writers supporting such positions as the following: "civilization does not weaken the principle of population;" (Monthly Review, June 1807, p. 137.) again, "assuming a peopled portion of the earth, there is a point at which it's produce would be a maximum; *there is no point*, however, at which the people upon it, however numerous, might not under advantageous circumstances go on increasing without number. Besides, while the soil is still capable of increasing it's produce, yet if it be approaching somewhere near the limit of it's capacity, the increase of it's produce cannot possibly keep

pace with the *natural*, or rather the *possible*, increase of the population upon it." (Christian Observer, July 1807, p. 452).

These are, in truth, but natural corollaries from Mr. Malthus's premises, who asserts of population, "that a thousand millions are just as easily doubled *EVERY twenty-five years* as a thousand," and "population, could it be supplied with food, *would go on with unexhausted vigour*; and the increase of one period would furnish the power of a greater increase the next, and this without any limit." (Malthus, vol. I. p. 8.) And again, "it is not the question in England, whether by cultivating all our commons we could raise considerably more corn than at present, but whether we could raise sufficient for a population of twenty millions in the next twenty-five years, and forty millions in the next fifty years*," as if it were possible, that the people of England, one third of whom are asserted by this very writer to live in towns, and consequently, not to keep up their own numbers†, could by any possible means increase so fast as to double their total amount in twenty-five years; which is assumed as the quickest possible rate in the agricultural state of society, where the employment and situation of the people is most favourable to population. After these passages, however, we cannot be surprised at the opinions which they have engendered, or that another writer, with the characteristic arrogance of his fraternity, should state, that "the greater part of those reasoners, who are in the habit of misunderstanding and misrepresenting Mr. Malthus, would have some chance of attaining clearer views on the subject of population, if they would attend to the very simple proposition from which his doctrines are deduced; namely, that the human race have a tendency to increase faster than *food can be provided for them*." Mr. Malthus, in his essay, does certainly intend to convey that idea. We apprehend, however, that those reasoners who wish clearly to understand, and fairly to represent the principle of population, would have a better chance of obtaining their end, if, instead of blindly acquiescing in these *assumed* data, they proceed to inquire into the degree in which the principle of population *naturally and really* operates in the several stages of society. They will find this to be very distinct from its assumed "possible"

* See Malthus, Book iii. c. 11. p. 222, vol. ii.

† See Malth. Book II. c. 7. the passage is as follows: "to fill up the void occasioned by this mortality in towns, and to answer all further demands for population, it is evident that a constant supply of recruits from the country is necessary; and this supply appears, in fact, to be always flowing in from the redundant births of the country." (Vol. I. p. 464.)

operation, and in most cases to be very far from having a necessary tendency "to push the number of people beyond the point at which food can be acquired for them." This is the point on which we mean to rest our difference in principle with Mr. Malthus, and its investigation will be the object of the pages immediately following. If our readers, during the perusal, should be disposed to think that some part of what we state has been previously noticed by Mr. Malthus, (for indeed there is little relating to the earlier stages of society, which has not been noticed by him,) we beg them to recall to mind the passages which we have just quoted from his essay, which, we think, must convince them that he could never with any consistency notice the statements we shall bring forward, in the sense in which they are used by us. We will venture also to promise that in whatever degree a difference as to *fact* may be thought to exist between Mr. Malthus and us, those who will have patience to read to the end of this article, will be convinced that the legitimate difference as to our practical conclusions is little short of absolute opposition.

In newly settled and purely agricultural countries, where the progress of population is infinitely the fastest, *it can never overtake the supply of food*, as long as this first state of society continues, for these plain reasons; that land will always produce, even in a very inferior state of cultivation, much more than sufficient food to support the cultivators, and the simple artisans attached to them; and that where good land can be had for nothing, the love of property and independence will find it occupiers, although no immediate demand may exist for the produce beyond the place of its production, and the family which occupies the farm. The surplus produce, however, which such a country is capable of raising, will usually find purchasers among the commercial and manufacturing nations, whose wants create a demand for it. This demand will ensure its growth, and the returns from its export to those countries will afford to the growers many necessary or convenient manufactures, besides a capital which will enable them to settle their children upon fresh land.

This state of society, and the rapid progress of population attending it, will continue, in the natural order of things, till all the best and most conveniently situated spots of land are occupied; and it would require the application of a large sum, on a remote prospect of return, to bring the remainder into cultivation. Till this point, a country may be said to be in the agricultural state of society, and the population is evidently far within the limits of the actual supply of food; although indivi-

dual instances of want or poverty may occur, caused by personal idleness or misfortune.

At this period, the children of the farmers, unless their industry be violently depressed by ignorance or tyranny, will turn their views to trade and manufactures; which would then become the most profitable employment of capital. They would bring up their children also to the same occupations, and though capital made in trade might be occasionally realized in land, it would usually be by the purchase of that already cultivated, rather than by the cultivation of the barren and more ungrateful tracts. The surplus produce of the land, before exported to manufacturing countries, will now be consumed by the domestic workmen; and the goods before imported will be wrought at home; at first only in sufficient quantities for the domestic demand, but at length for the purpose of exporting them to other countries, who have not yet advanced beyond the agricultural state of society.

As soon as this manufacturing population is sufficiently numerous nearly to consume the surplus produce formerly exported, and it becomes difficult to procure grain for the various purposes of luxury, or convenience, to which it is applied in all commercial countries, its price will rise; and this, let it be observed, before any actual pressure of distress for *a mere sufficiency of subsistence* occurs. This rise in the price will tempt the capitalist to lay out his money in bringing inferior waste land into cultivation, or in undertaking agricultural improvements, by which the old lands may be made to produce somewhat more food with an equal quantity of labour. As this mode of procuring food, however, is evidently much slower in operation, and its increased quantity, in a given space of time or territory, less abundant than in the agricultural state of society, it is clear, that if the natural progress of population continued the same, it must shortly overtake the supply of food, and verify the positions just disputed. Let us see, therefore, whether the manner in which this manufacturing and commercial population arranges itself, and the moral and physical effects produced by their employments, dispositions, and spontaneous distribution, do not naturally weaken the principle of population as it originally subsisted, and reduce it as nearly to a par with the diminished power of production in the soil, as the views of Providence for a still further amelioration will admit.

It is found that the convenience of the merchant and manufacturer is much promoted by having their residences contiguous to each other, and by collecting round them the houses of those who are employed in the various departments of their in-

dustry, and in supplying them with the necessaries and conveniences of life. They will, therefore, fix upon a favourable spot, in the midst of an extensive neighbourhood, where first a knot of houses will be formed, next a village, and at length a town, by the accession of more manufacturers, and of many of those who before carried on trades in the country, but who are tempted by the superior convenience of markets and intercourse to migrate to the town. From various other causes too, not necessary now to detail, towns will arise. In manufacturing countries the rise of many has been witnessed even in recent times; till at length the independent proprietors, the farmers and agricultural labourers, and the very simple artisans, will be the only inhabitants remaining in the country. These will convey their stock, or its produce, to the market in the town, and return from thence with the manufactured goods they may want. Two descriptions of inhabitants will thus be formed,—the townsman, and the countryman; and the habits, manners, and relative condition of each will naturally and spontaneously produce a very essential difference in their relative tendencies to contribute to the increase of population; while the progress of civilization, universally attendant upon commercial prosperity, will considerably diminish the absolute power of such increase throughout the whole community; and as we hope to shew in the course of this article, without any necessary increase of vice and misery. Care, forecast, anxieties of mind, emulation, severe attention to business, various active avocations, and the general incompatibility of the marriage state with this new order of pursuits, form the first natural causes of a diminished tendency in the population to increase, incident to the prosperous conduct of trade and manufactures. For there seems to be no doubt, that in proportion to the continued necessity of mental exertion or abstraction, many, who could well afford to rear a family, are placed in situations and pursuits where a voluntary abstinence from marriage, and the incapacity and indisposition to rear large families become very general. Moreover, the comparatively unfavourable state of the atmosphere even in towns* of a moderate

* See Malthus's Essay, book ii. c. 7. vol. i. p. 462. The passage illustrates the position in the text so strongly, that we cannot resist our wish to quote it at length. "There certainly seems to be something in great towns, and even in moderate towns, peculiarly unfavourable to the very early stages of life; and the part of the community, on which the mortality principally falls, seems to indicate, that it arises more from the closeness and foulness of the air, which may be supposed to be unfavourable to the tender lungs of children, and the greater confinement which they almost necessarily experience, than from the superior degree of luxury and debauchery usually, and justly, attributed to towns. A

size, and the confinement, and unhealthy occupations of the inhabitants not only weaken the robust state of health necessary to the production of a numerous and healthy progeny, and diminish the number of births; but likewise very much shorten the period of human life in those situations, and increase the proportion of deaths. The average number of births to a marriage in towns has been calculated at between 3 and 4, while in the country it is said to amount to $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5*; and even in moderate towns, such as Newbury, containing a concentrated population of not more than about 4200 souls, the deaths are to the population as 1 in 28 or 29: while in the purely agricultural villages, they often do not exceed the proportion of 1 in 50 or 60†. Here then are two natural and unavoidable causes very strongly tending to weaken the *principle* of population. Moreover, the artificial wants, which are converted into necessities of life at every step in the progress of civilization, render the support of a wife and family more difficult, consistently with retaining other personal enjoyments, and cannot but diminish, in some degree, the proportion of marriages throughout the whole community. So that the triple operation of a decrease in the number of marriages, diminished fertility in the human species, and an augmented proportion of deaths immediately begins, by the natural and unavoidable course of nature, to repress the progress of population as soon as a part of the people are collected into towns.

This progress will indeed be retarded less during the earlier stages of the commercial and manufacturing states of society, than afterwards, when towns become larger, population more dense, and civilization more general. Nor is it necessary that in these earlier stages population should be so much retarded. For as the power of the land is still capable of supporting a rapid increase of people from its surplus produce before exported, some time must necessarily elapse before population, though with a very trifling abatement in its progress, would begin to press against the actual supply of food. The labour of one family employed in tilling the earth, even in this early stage of agricultural improvement, may be fairly accounted able

married pair with the best constitutions, who lead the most regular and quiet life, seldom find that their children enjoy the same health in towns as in the country."

* See Price's *Reversion Payments*, vol. ii. p. 227. Perceval's *Observations on Manchester*, &c. vol. iii. of his *Essays*, edit. 1776. p. 60, 1. and Mr. Malthus's luminous observations on this subject in his chapter on the fruitfulness of marriage.

† See Price's *Rev. Paym.* vol. ii. p. 40, and Malthus, book ii. c. 7.

to support itself, and two others: two-thirds of the whole population may therefore by degrees become engaged in manufactures and commerce, in unprofitable professions, or may be living idly on the fruits of former industry, before a demand arises for a further increase of food. But long before a nation can have two-thirds of its people thus occupied, a great proportion of it must reside in large towns, and the introduction of luxury, and an artificial state of society, must have produced many imaginary wants among the country residents. Many of the people will be also lifted above the rank of the lower orders, and be affected by those artificial arrangements of society, which, though they universally produce high mental cultivation, do very much diminish the natural powers of increase in mankind*. Hence, from the diminished average of marriages and births, and the increase of premature mortality, a very great proportion of the population will cease to reproduce its own number; and a considerable deficiency will remain to be filled up by the peasantry, or lower order of country residents:—the most productive class in every well-regulated community.

Thus it appears, that in proportion as the population advances towards an equality with the surplus produce, existing at the first emergence of a country from the purely agricultural state, in such, precisely, will its progress naturally become slower, by the inevitable and unalterable laws of Providence; though the people be left as perfectly at liberty to follow the dictates of their own inclinations as is consistent with a free and well-regulated government. Let it be observed, also, that this effect, will be produced by certain and unerring causes, which can by no human means be very materially altered. It is as impossible to render the residents in towns more fruitful, to make the air of towns more wholesome to infants, to induce any large proportion of those who wish to abstain from marriage for their own convenience to enter into that contract, as it would be to feed the increased population that would follow, supposing the possibility of their production to exist. The abatement in the progress of population is voluntary, natural, and unavoidable. It is another question, which will be treated hereafter, how far it necessarily produces an increase of vice and misery, and how far that species of moral restraint, which consists in involuntary abstinence, be either necessary or useful to the welfare of the people. All that is here asserted is, that the abatement is *the*

* See "Dr. Trotter's View of the Nervous Temperament," for a detailed account of the effects of civilization on the physical powers of a people.

necessary consequence of the progress of society, and that to exclaim against its effects, is in fact to exclaim against all advancement of a country beyond the purely agricultural state.

Population, however, will at length overtake the supply of surplus food, so far as to press lightly against the luxuries to which some of it is converted, which will raise its price. And this is the first point from the most savage state of society, in which the pretended universal aphorism, that population presses against its supply of food, can be said absolutely to apply.

The elevation in the price of produce, from the increased competition, now encourages the capitalist to divert part of his funds from commerce and manufactures, to the cultivation of inferior waste lands, or to agricultural improvements on those already cultivated; and let it *be carefully observed*, that this pre-existing demand for food from a population pressing against its supply, is the only possible mode by which a further increase of food can now be elicited from the soil: for cultivators will not lay out their capital upon inferior soil, until they find by an enhanced price of its produce, that there is an increasing demand for it:—a fact which is of itself enough to shew the futility of Mr. Malthus's idea, that a manufacturing nation can ever permanently export large quantities of corn; neither is it more favourable to his position, that an increase of people should always *follow* and never *precede* an increase in the produce of the soil; which appears to us to be nearly tantamount to saying, that an increase in the number of backs should always follow and never precede an increase in the manufacture of coats; whereas it appears to us, that a previous increase of wearers and consumers is absolutely necessary to the respective production of further food and raiment.

The produce, however, of these new speculations in agriculture will set the people at ease till a further increase of population. But the improved methods will also enable a smaller number of cultivators to rear an equal quantity of produce, and will therefore set free a larger proportion of the people for manufactures, or unproductive occupations. This will add to the number inhabiting towns; while the accumulation of capital, and of private fortunes, the increase of menial servants, and the various calls for men who are in situations and pursuits of risk, danger, and the like, add greatly to the list of those who do not reproduce their own numbers even in the country. So that it is only after a longer interval than before that the people again come to press against the supply of food; and thus an increased retardation takes place at every stage in the progress of society. The difficulty of procuring food will evidently increase with each of these

revolutions; because the country will after each have approached nearer to its acme of cultivation and production, and the best remaining lands being occupied at each revolution, none but inferior and ungrateful soils will at length be left. But it is equally clear from what has been said, that the progress of population will have become proportionably slower, and less capable of overtaking the diminished power of the land to supply it with food.

If it be necessary to make this proposition yet more plain, by any addition to the preceding arguments, let it be considered, that after no long progress in this very advanced state of society, one family employed in agriculture will be able at least to support* itself and three others, in consequence of the improved modes of culture, which the necessity of a large surplus produce, and the application of commercial skill and capital to agricultural pursuits, invariably introduce. Three-fourths of the people therefore will be left at large to follow manufactures, or non-productive employments, to be the menial servants of the higher orders, to navigate the ships, and fight the battles of the country. Of these three-fourths, at least two-thirds, or one-half of the whole population, would cease to reproduce their own numbers of efficient people. This will be evident to any one who considers, that in a state of society where so large a proportion of the people are merchants, manufacturers, or idle persons, at least one-third of the whole population must dwell in towns, some in very large towns; and that the remainder of those, who are calculated not to reproduce their own numbers, principally consists of soldiers, sailors, men of good families but small fortunes, servants, dependents, and emigrants to colonies, or other places. These are usually taken out of the mass of the population in the prime of life, but before they have contributed children to replace their loss, which must therefore be filled up by the children of others. And with respect to the towns, it is proved to demonstration, that even of those of a moderate size, not one can keep up its own effective population†. It appears, that when our provincial towns were increasing much less rapidly than at present, Dr. Short calculated that nine-nineteenths of the married were strangers; and of 1618 persons examined at the Westminster infirmary only 824 were found to have been born in London. The continual influx of settlers, in the prime of

* See appendix to Dirom on the Corn Laws.

† See Price on Rev. Paym. Percival's *Essays* before quoted, and Malth. b. ii. c. 7.

life, from the country, to repair the waste of the towns, is indeed proved both by actual observation, and by the great excess of the births above the burials in the adjoining agricultural villages; although the population either of those villages, or of the towns to which they emigrate, by no means exhibit a corresponding increase. This excess of births above burials in some of the villages, where no numerical increase has taken place in the population, has been found to mount as high as 2 or 3 to 1; and, as the excess of births above deaths is *naturally* the universal measure of the increase in the population, we may be sure that where that excess is great, in a situation where no increase has taken place, the surplus has been artificially drawn off to other points.

If we suppose that, taking one town with another, a fifth of the inhabitants are not natives but settlers from the country, the calculation will probably be found not exaggerated for towns with a stationary population, and to be much within the proportion that has been proved to exist in many towns that have rapidly increased their numbers. This may perhaps at first surprise many readers; but it will by no means appear exaggerated, if they attend to the following calculation. An excess of annual deaths above annual births of 7 in each 1000 of existing persons is a low average in a town even of a moderate size. Upon this datum then let us suppose a town to contain 1000 inhabitants, and the deaths to exceed the births in the proportion stated. Seven emigrants per 1000 from the country must yearly settle in the town to keep up its population. We will suppose likewise, that the proportion of deaths to the population in this town is 1 to 28; i. e. that a number equal to the whole population dies in 28 years, or a twenty-eighth part (viz. $35\frac{1}{2}$ persons in 1000) on the average in every succeeding year. This is a rate of mortality less than that which agrees with all the correct information with respect to the average mortality of towns. It will appear reasonable, if we consider that the returns seem to prove that, (omitting all emigrants from them into the army and navy, and those sent into the country in the early periods of life, where a portion of them die), from a third to a half of the number born in towns usually die in the very earliest stages of life. The average expectation of life in a child just born in a town is never more than 19 years. In Vienna and Stockholm half the number born die under two years of age, in Manchester, containing 84000 souls, under five, in Northampton, containing 7000 souls, under ten. Now in any space of 28 years the number of accessions from the country settled in this town at 7 per year will be 196: and if they arrive there at the usual period of life,

(between 18 and 22 years of age,) when they have all one with another an expectation of life equal to 30 years, i. e. an average prospect, which may be safely calculated upon, of reaching the ages of 48 to 52, the number will not be diminished in the course of the generation: on the contrary, 7 multiplied by 30 gives 210, which would be the number per 1000 of emigrants from the country always residing in that town after the lapse of the first 30 years. For though some may die within a few years of their arrival, others will live beyond the age of 48 or 52; so the average will be same. But as a few may come to settle between the ages of 22 and 35, during which periods the expectation of life is in some degree lower, and continually decreasing, a subtraction must be made on this account from the number of 210 strangers. This, however, cannot be very large; and would scarcely do more than reduce the whole number of them to 200, the fifth of 1000, which is the proportion of settlers always existing, that we have been endeavouring to establish as a moderate calculation, and which appears from the foregoing statement to be indispensable in towns, even when so small an excess of deaths above births as 7 in 1000 takes place among the inhabitants.

Such would be the case were the population of the town stationary; but if from an increase in the demand for labour, or other causes, it should be rapidly extending itself, of course a larger influx of settlers must take place. Supposing the number required to be no more than two individuals in a thousand annually, this would raise the proportion of strangers in the town from a fifth to above a fourth, and so on in proportion to the rapidity of the increasing demand for labour, or of the other causes of attraction to settlers. For all these reasons it cannot appear exaggerated to assert, that that third part of the population, which has been supposed to reside in towns in the state of society referred to, is not only incapable of keeping up its own number, but requires in each generation a number, at least equal to a fifth of its own, from the other two-thirds of the people, in order to prevent a diminution in its actual population. Still less can it be denied, that where a continually increasing demand exists for labourers in employments which are carried on in towns, a much larger proportion of recruits must be afforded by the rest of the people. Let us see, therefore, to what extent the remaining two-thirds are capable of affording this necessary supply of recruits.

Of these two-thirds of the population not resident in towns, we have already remarked three-eighths, or a portion equal to

one-fourth of the whole population, to be employed in agriculture. The portion remaining to be accounted for, which does not live in towns, and is yet not employed in agriculture, amounts to five-eighths, or about two-fifths of the whole population. These comprize the village shopkeepers and manufacturers, soldiers, sailors, and men of fortune, with their descendants, families, and menial servants; of whom (though some may be productive enough of people), yet it may be difficult to say that the whole keep up their numbers. A reference to the state of England would probably shew, that about a fourth of this portion of the people consists of men of rank and easy fortune, with their families, and unemployed descendants, deriving income from various funds, but many of them possessing not more than enough fortune to afford their accustomed enjoyments in the single state, From these and other causes, so many of them do not marry, or at least not till late in life, and so many more from the various causes before-mentioned do not rear families of any size, that the aggregate amount of all their descendants is not sufficient to replace their own number; although they do not fall short of it in the same degree with the inhabitants of towns. Of the remainder of this portion, one-eighth may be said to consist of the army, the mercantile and military navy, emigrants to colonies, &c. with their families, and attendants; who are so far from keeping up their own numbers at home, that they are a continual drain to nearly their whole amount, upon the most robust and effective part of the people. The remaining half and one-eighth of this portion of the people consists of the manufacturing labourers, and small proprietors, residing in the country, who (though the former, from occasional unhealthy occupation, fall short of the husbandmen in prolific power), are capable, upon the whole, not only of keeping up their whole numbers, but of affording a surplus, large in proportion to the means they have of sustaining their children by the remuneration of their labour. The same is the case with the agricultural fourth of the people*. Thus we see that

* In a country containing a population of nine millions, the following would be the distribution of the people according to the state of society supposed in the text.

1. One-third in towns, (not reproducing their own numbers)	3,000,000
2. One-fourth in agriculture, (reproducing their own numbers and supplying the deficiencies in the towns, &c.)	2,250,000
3. A fourth of the remainder, men of rank and fortune with their families, unemployed descendants, and servants, (not reproducing their own numbers)	937,500

before a country has advanced very far in the commercial state, and long before it approaches to its ne plus ultra of cultivation, about half of its population is incapable of reproducing its own number of individuals, from moral and physical causes of universal and spontaneous operation, unalterable by human means. It is evident also, that with every step it takes in the same progress, or the nearer it advances towards a fulness of people, and the end of its resources in cultivation, the part of the community reproducing its own numbers will still further diminish its proportion to the whole. The towns will increase, and all those artificial wants and debilitating customs engendered by wealth, civilization, and the progress of intellectual endowments, will act with accelerated force.

Now in the pursuit of this career, it is very certain that there must be a point at which the whole population will *naturally* be incapable of a further increase; it appears that this will happen when the sterility of that part of the people, which does not reproduce its own number, becomes so great, that the reproducing part will not be able by any natural fertility of its own to supply it; when each couple among them (for example) must produce eight children on an average for the purpose. That this effect must arise at last, we think obvious from the preceding argument, and shall be at any time ready to give the proofs in detail, although we are now induced to omit them for the sake of brevity.

In the mean time we may observe, that if the foregoing deduction of the progress of society in its higher stages be at all correct, population, so far from having an inconvenient tendency, uniformly to press against the means of subsistence, becomes by degrees very slow in overtaking those means. By the inevitable accumulation of a larger than the average proportion of the means of subsistence into the hands of rich individuals, the pressure of want operates indeed upon a part of the people to that salutary extent, which insures their industry in order to supply their necessities; and the miseries ascribed to the pressure of

4. Army, navy mercantile and military, emigrants to foreign settlements with their families and attendants, (almost entirely supplied from the classes reproducing their numbers)	468,750
5. Country manufacturers, shopkeepers, small proprietors, &c. with their families, (reproducing their own numbers)	2,343,750
	<hr/> 9,000,000

The three classes not reproducing their own numbers, leaving a deficiency of at least a fifth of their aggregate numbers, or 880,000 souls in a generation to be made up by the two other classes, principally by that marked 2.

population are more justly due to the backwardness of men to exercise that industry. But that the whole population is constantly pressing to a hurtful extent against the whole supply of food; or that the human race have a natural "tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for them," are perfectly untenable propositions. On the contrary, it is evident that there is a point beyond which the population cannot possibly advance further without artificial assistance. That the healthiness or insalubrity, the mildness or severity of the climate, that the excellence or depravity of the government, the freedom or slavery of the people, may, in different countries, accelerate or retard this point (which we shall hereafter venture to call the point of non-reproduction) cannot be denied. But no salubrity of climate, nor any municipal regulations, consistent with a regular progress in industry and prosperity, could ever defer it (in a country of extended territory at least) till the period at which no more food could be raised, and no more people could of consequence be permanently supported.

It is very true, also, that bad government and the consequent vices, that foreign violence or influence rendering the political system of a country subservient, not to its own interests, but to those of its master-state, may often prevent the further exertion of industry: the present state of the continent of Europe affords but too deplorable an instance in point. It is true, also, that impolitic restraints upon agriculture may prevent the improvement and further cultivation of the soil at any given point in the progress of society. The consequence of such vicious interference, before the people have arrived at their point of non-reproduction, must evidently be the pressure of the population against the supply of food, and the vice and misery so eloquently portrayed by Mr. Malthus as the consequence of such pressure. This, however, is certainly no necessary effect of a law of nature, but of human oppression and folly. The removal of the oppression and folly would assuredly restore the comfort and happiness of the people; whereas were the pressure previously removed, it would take away that impulse which urges the individuals of a community to the improvement of their condition, and to resist that which opposes it; and, contrary to the obvious designs of Providence, would, humanly speaking, pass sentence of eternal slavery and ignorance against the unfortunate people. Tyrants only can wish to make the economy of human affairs consist with a state of ignorance, slavery, and oppression.

Without some such interference, then, with the natural rates of increase in produce and population, it is no "vulgar misconception to suppose, that the evils of a redundant population can

never be (necessarily) felt by a country, till it is actually peopled up to the full capacity of its resources." We may even go farther, and assert, that should this point of plenitude be ever attained, the evils of a redundant population would not even then be necessarily felt, because the non-reproducing part of the people must bear too large a proportion to the whole to permit any total increase in their numbers. And let it be observed in aid of this argument, that a free scope for industry, security of person and property, and a free constitution and practice of government, which are all necessary to carry a country many steps in its progress in the commercial and manufacturing state of society, and consequently towards a full state of cultivation, do all very much assist the causes before enumerated in enlarging the non-reproductive portion of the people.

Thus we see that every step, which a country takes towards the end of its resources, is accompanied by a correspondent abatement in the tendency of its population to increase; that although in *abstract theory* so many people, if they were all to marry as early as possible, and all to procreate and rear as many children as they might do were they in different circumstances and distributed in a different manner, would very soon outrun the decreasing powers of the soil to afford food; yet that necessary and anticipating alterations arise in the state of society, as those powers of the soil diminish, which render so many persons unwilling to marry, and so many more who do marry incapable of reproducing their own numbers, and of replacing the deficiency in the remainder, that the population is *in real fact* always prevented from having a natural tendency to exceed the feasible supply of food; and that those circumstances which have (improperly as we think) been called *checks* to a natural tendency towards increase, constitute of themselves, with the addition of others, a natural tendency the contrary way; a tendency not to be overcome in a free and enlightened government by any remaining power in the population. The idea of producing a previous increase of food, in order that it might be followed by a proportionate increase of people, if it were possible, would evidently alter the state of society: but we have already shewn that this (to use a vulgar phrase) is putting the cart before the horse; and that it is impossible, in the advanced states of society, to produce any considerable increase of food without a previous demand from an already increased population.

It is equally clear, that had not the Divine Providence adapted the progressive power of the principle of population to what it must have foreseen of the effects of the progress of society, it would have made a very inefficient provision for its professed purpose as to

the earth; viz. that it should be peopled and replenished. Had that power been materially less than it is found to be, the world instead of being well-peopled would have been comparatively a desert. Omniscience, so far from having made its machinery too strong for the work it has to perform, as the propositions we have now controverted go to assert, has very nicely adapted its means to its ends, provided the workmen will comply with the regulations given them for performing their task. If these indeed chouse to alter or disarrange the machinery, with an audacious confidence in their own superior wisdom, it is more than probable that the work will be liable to interruption and irregularity. Now, although we do not mean to dispute, that to build a theory upon well ascertained facts is perfectly allowable; yet it is a very gross addition to such audacity to ascribe the blame to the machinist, and to the principles upon which his work is constructed, and not to their own misconception and misapplication of his plan.

We trust that we have at length proved that the theory laid down by Mr. Malthus as an inference from the assumed tendency of population to a too rapid increase in the more advanced stages of society, is founded upon data perfectly supposititious; viz. that a possibility exists that the physical powers of a people could double their numbers in 25 years in a commercial and manufacturing state of society, because that effect has been produced in one purely agricultural. It is evident that their tendency to such a rate of increase is as absolutely gone, as the tendency of a bean to shoot up further into the air after it has arrived at its full growth. The argument appears to us not even to be theoretically true—

“Frustra simulacra fugacia captas
Quod petis est nusquam.”

It is a mere shadow—a theory built upon another theory, which when brought to the test is directly at variance with experience of the fact, and as unsafe to act upon, as would be that of a general, who should assume the force of a musket shot to be double its actual range, and then should calculate upon the death of all his enemies as soon as he had drawn up his own men for battle within this line of assumed efficiency.

Neither do we think that Mr. Malthus's reference of his system to fact, and the experience of ages, which he has attempted in the various chapters on what he calls the *checks* to population in the different countries of the world, would, upon accurate investigation, tend to supply what may be thought deficient in his theoretical statements. A detailed investigation of all those

chapters would open so wide a field of controversial argument as evidently to exceed our limits. But we have little doubt, that in the course of our future labours, opportunities enough will occur to demonstrate the agreement of the phenomena of society, as we have now laid them down, with the actual condition of those countries in which we are most interested; particularly of Great Britain and Ireland. In the mean time we shall be content with making a few observations upon one of the two particular states, which Mr. M. considers as his strong holds, viz: the South Sea Islands; leaving the consideration of modern China to a future opportunity.

It appears, that in the island of Otaheite no regular cultivation has ever existed; the people have always been supported under the shade of their own forests by the almost spontaneous bounty of nature. Upon the first pressure of population against the existing supply of such food, the natives, instead of having recourse to agricultural exertion, preferred their original state of barbarism, and this against the repeated efforts of benevolence to induce them to adopt a better system. They removed the tendency of their population to excess, necessarily arising out of such conduct, by the murder of their children. But mark the effects of vice, and of the interference of human depravity with the order of nature, and the designs of Providence! The number of inhabitants, which in the year 1774 amounted to 204,000*, for whom nature had provided sustenance with scarcely any exertion of their own to procure it, gradually dwindled to such a degree, that at the beginning of this century it did not amount to more than 5000†; and this in a climate delightful and healthy in a very superior degree. No doubt, in short, seems to remain, that the whole of the original natives will soon be extinct, and the island repeopled by the missionaries who have taken up their abode there. To complete the argument, it is only necessary to state, that in the Friendly and Sandwich islands, where nature has done less for the inhabitants in healthiness of climate, and fertility of soil, the absence of this vice, and the adoption of trade and cultivation, have kept them in a gradual progress of improvement. The superiority of the latter too, (who have derived commercial advantages and civilized intercourse from their vicinity to the north-west coast of America, and the convenience they afford to the piratical and smuggling navigators of those seas), proves that

* Cook's Second Voyage, vol. I. p. 349.

† Turnbull's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 76.

the progress made by the two has been exactly in proportion to their industry and exertion. Nor has any inconvenience been found to arise in these two last-mentioned groups of islands from a redundant population; nor have any extraordinary checks occurred to prevent it. Yet upon them and Otaheite Mr. Malthus seems very much to rely for the exemplification of his theory. "Where," says he, "could they be disposed of in a single century, when they would amount to above three millions, supposing their numbers to double every twenty-five years?" And in a note he professes to think, that they might perhaps increase in a ratio still faster. But "*proh hominum fidem!*" the island, which has endeavoured to check its natural increase, instead of providing for it, has dwindled in 30 years from 204,000 to 5000, while those who have permitted theirs to take its natural course, and have exercised their industry in the best method afforded by their circumstances and situation, have not only gradually increased in numbers, but in prosperity and happiness. Nor have they been afflicted with any extraordinary quantity of vice or misery. Diseases are upon the whole less frequent among them than in more civilized states; and though havoc has certainly been made by war among their chiefs, yet their insular situation and limited means of transporting an army must have prevented that havoc from extending widely among the lower orders.

With respect to the island of Otaheite, there is something in the mode of checking population by infanticide, which rouses a feeling of horror in the mind, and deprives it of patience to calculate in detail the political consequences of such a check. It cannot be denied that so summary a method will certainly keep down the population, but its general result we have seen; and the foregoing statement gives every reason to conclude, that effects of the same nature would arise from every other method taken to interfere with the laws of Providence for the due replenishment of the world. They all have a tendency to reduce a people to that point where the smallest exertion becomes irksome; the quantity of food, therefore, even where nature has performed nine-tenths of the task of producing it, will gradually decline, where any means, however horrid, can be found of dispensing with the trifling labour necessary to procure it. Thus it is at Otaheite, where 5000 barbarians still prefer the destruction of their offspring to the moderate exertion necessary to provide them with food, in an island which previously supported more than 200,000 persons, without vexing the earth with their instruments of tillage.

By way of *general conclusion* to the whole of the preceding

arguments, we would observe, that an enlightened government, and an industrious people, who will discharge their duties with an ordinary degree of practical wisdom and virtue, so far from endeavouring to add force to the spontaneous abatement in the progress of population, accompanying the civil phenomena to which we have been alluding, may safely venture upon the removal of every *check* to population which *really* comes under that title by being of a nature to be removed by human power: they will leave the people to the natural rate of increase unalterably inherent in the state of society which may then be subsisting. In pursuing this course of conduct they will not interfere with that necessity for industry and exertion, which Omniscience seems to have contemplated in calculating the force of the principle of population, and on which the happiness and virtue of all societies depend. But they will certainly feel it incumbent upon them to use every exertion to give free scope to human industry, and indeed will consider that circumstance as almost the sole object of all rational politics. A full population necessarily renders the people industrious; because in such a condition universal industry is absolutely essential to the sustentation and happiness of the people, and to the security of the government. In ancient China, which was eminently populous, idleness was a penal offence, and we are told by Strabo, lib. xv. that it was capital to lame an *artificer* in the hand, or to blind him of an eye, though not so with respect to other persons. These laws must have originated in the necessity of an universal industry in that country. As in such a situation it necessarily becomes expedient to the safety of the government, that every man should have it in his power to work without being deprived of the fruits of his labours, a free form and practice of government naturally ensues. The regular administration of justice, and the absolute necessity there is for encouraging industry by rendering property secure, are all so many bars to despotism. In truth, the attention which a full population renders it necessary that a government should pay to the removal of all impediments to the people's industry, (particularly when employed upon the land), and consequently to the welfare of the lower orders, is above all price. It was formerly the custom in India, at the beginning of a new year, for the kings and philosophers of the country to meet together and consult about the people's welfare; and those who had made any pertinent remarks, either relative to the fruits of the earth, or to animals, were exempted from tribute. What a magnificent board of agriculture and internal improvement! To bring one more instance of the effect of a full population on the people's industry and happiness, let us refer to the account given by a

Roman author of ancient Egypt, the most populous and industrious of the old states, and the mother of the arts and industry of Europe. He says, “* *Civitas opulenta, dives, facunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta conficitur, alii lynphiones sunt; omnes certè cujuscunque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent; habent cæci † quod faciant; ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt.*”

The difference between the opinions maintained in this essay, and those of Mr. Malthus, is most important; since they lead to directly opposite conclusions upon the most interesting questions of morals and politics. Of these we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion to the following. 1st. As to the nature and extent of the duty of charity. 2d. As to the possibility of the existence of a free and equal option to *all ranks* of the people of entering into the contract of marriage without injury to the commonwealth. 3dly. As to the influence of the principle of population and the progress of society on the virtue and vice of the people.

1. Of charity.—If it be true, as asserted, that population has in all cases a tendency of itself to exceed the supply of food for its support; since we cannot in the nature of things assist the poor in any way, without encouraging them to produce, and enabling them to rear a greater number of children, or at least, without prolonging the existence of the objects of our charity; it is evident, that by every exertion of it, we are only increasing the quantum of human misery. While we assist some, we are proportionably depressing others, and adding to that number which is already exuberant to a fault. It is impossible to parry this conclusion: and though the humanity of the author of the *Essay on Population* very naturally recoils from the proposition, nothing can more strongly mark its practical inapplicability to the exigences of human life, than the manner in which he endeavours to escape from it. He says, that general principles should not be pushed too far, and that cases may occur where the good resulting may more than overbalance the evil to be apprehended. But if his principles be true, how is it possible to know, that the being you thus *exalt* may be more worthy than those so *unjusti-*

* Vopisci Saturninus.

† See an account of the school for the indigent blind in St. George's-fields, instituted 1799. Printed by the Philanthropic Society. The ingenious methods there detailed, of giving profitable employment to the blind, exhibit a delightful combination of ingenuity and benevolence.

fably depressed? If the world be already miserable because it has a continual tendency to repletion, all charity which encourages marriage among the lower orders in order to promote happiness and morality, which assists women in childbirth, which helps any of the poor to rear their children in soundness of body, which bestows relief upon the old who have not saved a provision from their youthful earnings, which saves, in short, the life of one whose death would set his fellow-creatures more at ease, is a criminal indulgence of individual feeling at the expence of the general welfare of mankind: since by the exercise of any one of these charities towards one individual, you reduce another, who may deserve it less, to the same distress, from which the object of your benevolence is relieved. This is the plain, manly, and consistent conclusion to be drawn from the premises. He who is thoroughly convinced of the truth of the latter, must of course think it his duty, however painful it may be, to act up to the former. Nor can his opinion or conduct be at all altered by a mere recommendation from the person who, as he thinks, has established the principles, not to push them too far, because the benefit he may bestow upon one individual may perchance be greater than the injury he will certainly do to another. He may reasonably doubt this; and the doubt may serve very strongly to fortify the natural inclination, of which we are most of us too sensible, to keep our money in our pockets.

Again, the goodness and justice of the Divine Providence, in the precepts it has laid down for the exercise of our charity, are no less implicated in the conclusions referred to. We are commanded *absolutely*, and without any reference to its effects upon society, "to give unto the poor sufficient for his need," "to deal bread to the hungry," "to cover the naked," and so forth. The law is represented as of the highest obligation, and not only strict, but generous obedience to it as the most decisive test of faith. This is too broad a principle of duty to be palliated or denied: and being so, we are surely justified in presuming *a priori*, that a compliance with it can never endanger the welfare of those towards whom it is exercised, by enlarging the boundaries of vice and misery amongst them. Nor can we quite reconcile our minds to the solution of this difficulty, which has been attempted, by saying, "that the scriptures command us to give to the poor, but are quite silent as to the *utility* of such a virtue." Undoubtedly, if in any case the commands of God appear to our finite understandings to be inexpedient in their particular application to human affairs, we bow with humility, and conclude that their *general* expediency has reference to the universal scheme of things, which the wisdom of the Creator has removed

far beyond the blinking imbecility of mortal ken. But on a subject of such daily importance to us as the practice of charity, it would not be without an obstinate struggle, nor without exquisite pain, that we could be brought to rest its expediency solely on an argument so abstracted. We would rather argue, that if we conclude charity to be a virtue, we can hardly admit its consequences to be vicious; and whether or not our abilities would enable us to refute arguments that may be brought forward to prove them so, we would no more admit the truth of those arguments, than we would the falsehood of the Newtonian system, because its founder could not explain to us the cause of gravitation; or the non-existence of the electrical energies of various bodies in nature, because the primary cause of electricity is beyond the scope of our knowledge. To be *told*, therefore, that the delightful sentiments arising from the practice of virtue are "baseless illusions," should not disturb our repose in the least; and so far from seeking for consolation in a forgetfulness of the truth, we should immediately have recourse to the expedient of reminding ourselves of it. For the truth must evidently be, that since God is an all-wise and all-good being, who made the world, and is intimately acquainted with the principles upon which it is conducted, whatever he commands *must be expedient for the benefit of man*, whether we can prove it so or not. Actually to bring forward that proof must nevertheless give a sensible pleasure, though it can impart no additional conviction to the truly rational mind.

It is therefore gratifying to reflect, that the conclusions to be drawn from the first part of this article, with respect to the exercise of charity to the poor, leave the expediency of the practice of that virtue not only open to the utmost extent, under the controul of discretion, to which a benevolent heart may find pleasure in its exertion; but by rendering every rational mode of relief innocent and praiseworthy, afford to all according to their means the opportunity of obeying the commands of God by the exercise of this sublime duty to their fellow creatures. And let it be recollected, that all money permanently bestowed in charity to those who are *really* unable to work does as certainly encourage industry, as if paid in the first instance to the industrious labourer; for while it holds out no encouragement to the able and slothful, it is immediately paid away by the person first receiving it for objects the products of industry. It equally operates as an increased demand for those products; and where freedom and security of property give scope to the people's industry, those products, whether they consist of food, of manufactures, or of objects of foreign commerce, will certainly

be supplied. If it keep in action a mouth which would otherwise be closed for ever, the demand for food thereby created will cause its production as certainly, as if the rich man had spent his money so bestowed in building a summer-house, or digging a fish-pond. To prosecute these observations to their full extent, as exemplified in our own country, must be deferred to future opportunities; in the mean time, we here think it expedient to enter our protest against a very witty retort, to which we perceive that we lie open: viz. that according to this argument, there would be no public injury in supporting the whole labouring population by donations in money, since they would immediately go to the purchase of necessaries, and thus to the encouragement of industry: while it is evident, that if all could be so supported, none would work to produce those necessaries. In answer to this piece of pleasantry it may be sufficient to observe, that the office of charity consists entirely either in supporting those who *cannot* support themselves, or in making up to others the deficiency which their own fair exertions leave in their power of supporting their families. When giving away money extends beyond these limits, it becomes (not charity, but) thoughtless profusion: within those limits, it can never have the effect of diminishing industrious exertion, since it is only bestowed in proportion as that is *impossible* or *insufficient*.

It is hoped that the different practical conclusions respectively deducible from our arguments, and those of Mr. Malthus with respect to the exercise of charity, are sufficiently obvious without further repetition; that those advanced by us have at least the advantage of being consistent with themselves, with the commands of God, the known precepts of morality, and with true benevolence; and that there will be no necessity to advise a departure from the *principles* of conduct laid down, in order to make the *practice* square with precepts, which every enlightened christian must allow to be reasonable.

2. The different conclusions to be drawn from the two arguments, with respect to the propriety of a free and equal option of marriage to all ranks of the people, are no less obvious than those respecting the exercise of charity, and quite as important to their moral good, and general happiness. The following propositions have been repeatedly drawn from the principle of population as laid down by Mr. Malthus; that moral restraint, i. e. involuntary abstinence from marriage by those who cannot support a family of the average number, accompanied by abstinence from irregular intercourse, until the pecuniary affairs of the parties are absolutely in a condition to support a family of the size that may eventually be born to them, is the only method of escaping the vice and

misery incident to a redundant population. As the lower orders are evidently the only part of a people who cannot support a family, if they choose to give up other enjoyments in exchange for the domestic, it follows, that the rule of involuntary abstinence from marriage applies exclusively to them; and that it is necessary to the public welfare, that they should continue single, and of course unpolluted, to a comparatively advanced period of life. At the same time Mr. Malthus is compelled to admit, that such a *general system* of restraint among the lower orders is from the nature and constitution of mankind altogether impossible; and that, supposing the abstinence from marriage *only* to be attained, there would be great danger of encouraging the worst vices among them. The attempts to weaken this objection to his system consist principally of a comparison of its result with other crimes and vices to which, according to his system, the opposite course of conduct, or the encouragement of marriage would lead; which he asserts to be great, but which we must beg leave to think (from an extensive observation of the lower orders) by no means the greater of the two, even according to his statement. Again, he is compelled to admit, that "considering the passion between the sexes in all its bearings and relations, including the endearing engagement of parent and child resulting from it, it is one of the principal ingredients of human happiness;" and we may surely add, that its lawful gratification is the great constituent of the happiness of the lower orders, who do not profit in proportion with the rest of the community by the progress of civilization: at least it does not afford to them, as it does to the higher ranks of society, any mental substitute for these interdicted gratifications. Even an attentive perusal of Mr. Malthus's confessedly Utopian state of society, described in his chapter of "the effects which would result to society from *the general practice*" of such double abstinence as is above described, will undoubtedly shew that almost all the moral advantages and happiness resulting from it attach exclusively to the feeling and condition of the higher orders of society. The people should therefore be entitled to retain that which they possessed in the earlier stages of society, and for which its further advancement has afforded them no substitute.

But, say the supporters of the new opinions, if the lower orders do not alter their conduct in this respect with the progress of society, an increase of misery, and a multiplication of deaths by famine and various other diseases, must be the inevitable consequence. To prevent this lingering misery, therefore, if we attempt to facilitate marriage, as a point of the first consequence to the morality and happiness of the people, to act consistently, we should facilitate and not impede the production of mortality.

Instead of recommending cleanliness to the poor, we should encourage contrary habits; we should make our streets narrower, and implore the return of the plague; we should build our villages near stagnant pools, and encourage settlements in bogs and morasses. We should above all reprobate those benevolent, but much mistaken men, who have foolishly thought they were doing a service to mankind, by projecting schemes for the total extirpation of particular disorders. According to the dilemma here stated, it appears that great and irremediable vice and misery in some shape or other is what a reasonable man must expect to find the lot of the larger portion of his fellow creatures, even supposing them to practise the degree of virtue and morality which has ever been found to exist in the best regulated and most civilized societies; and that one great and inevitable source of vice and misery is gradually increased among the lower orders, without any counterpoise, in proportion as the situation of the other ranks is ameliorated.

But can this be the ordination of Providence? Has it made the attainment of moral virtues so unequally possible among men? we cannot believe it; nor is it any defence of the justice of such an arrangement to say, "that at some particular periods in the progress of society men are more strongly tempted in a particular manner than at others;" for it is evident, that according to Mr. Malthus's exposition of the plan of Providence, it is not a substitution of one species of temptation for another, but an exoneration of a degree of temptation from the higher orders, to place the burthen upon the shoulders of the lower. It seems that the last are the only persons to whom the option of early marriage is to be denied, though they have at the same time fewer enjoyments to substitute for it, and infinitely fewer means of avoiding the temptations to vice, which an involuntary abstinence from marriage necessarily multiplies. Their mental resources being most deficient, they are more in want of other gratifications, and of the means of humanizing their minds by the enjoyments of the social affections. Whereas the higher and middle orders, who want it least, have a perfectly free option of marriage.

The denial of this fact, which is sometimes attempted, cannot, we think, be maintained. That their pride, their desire to retain the enjoyments attached to a life of celibacy, the profits arising from pursuits with which the care of a wife and family is incompatible; the various pleasures and advantages in short, which in a civilized state men in the higher and middle classes must sometimes resign upon marriage, prevent them from entering into that contract for fear of losing those advantages, is very certain. But they have evidently the power of choice. If they

choose to sacrifice one enjoyment for the sake of the other, by descending a degree in the scale of society, they may gratify their wishes with innocence, and exchange a part of their pecuniary or other advantages for the comforts of a family. If they prefer the ease and disencumbrance of a single life to the social comforts of the marriage state, they can never have a right to complain of the sacrifices by which alone those enjoyments can be innocently obtained, since they are of their own imposing. Before they can prove that vice or misery arising from an involuntary abstinence from marriage are any part of the lot bestowed upon them by Providence, they must prove that the same Providence hath made the enjoyment of luxury, and the acquisition of riches, a necessary condition of their existence.

Providence, for example, cannot be arraigned for reducing a man to the necessity of abstaining either from marriage, or his wine; nor would it be any mitigation of the crime of irregular intercourse, if a man should say, that by the constitution of human affairs, he could not enjoy the comfort of a wife without parting with his bottle. He has it clearly in his power to support the former in health and temperance, if he choose to abstain from the latter;—the choice is his. But when he has made it, he is certainly bound to abstain from illegal gratification, having the power of enjoying that which is legal. As this, however, is not the case with the poor, if it could be proved that they, among whom perhaps the natural passion is at least equally strong, with less power of escaping its effects, be absolutely precluded from the option of an early marriage; if the weight of the greatest of all temptations be laid exclusively where the smallest means of resisting it are bestowed; if there be no possibility of bestowing upon the lower orders the gratifications which their religion holds out as innocent, and the domestic enjoyments of a family, (those cordial drops in the cup of a poor man, which by lulling his most restless passions to a repose, that his intellectual faculties could never produce, lift him to a level with his superiors in the scale of happiness and contentment, and in the power of practising the moral duties), then may we be tempted to think that the impartiality of Providence may be plausibly impeached, and that the sins and vicious indulgences of the lower orders must be held harmless in its sight. To say in defence of so partial a dispensation, “that the scriptures most clearly and precisely point out to us, as our duty, to restrain our passions within the bounds of reason; and that it is a palpable disobedience of this law to indulge our desires in such a manner as reason tells us will unavoidably end in misery;” would scarcely be admitted as

conclusive in any place where the hearers were not restricted from answering, so long as the argument is exclusively used in reference to the lower orders; which in this question of the free option of marriage or celibacy it certainly is, according to the arguments just referred to.

Such, then, being the difficulties and inconsistencies of the new opinions respecting population, when connected with the subject of marriage, let us see how the system we have adopted will alter the conclusions to be drawn; and whether they will not prove that every man, in every station of life, has equally the option of contracting matrimony, if upon due consideration he may think proper to do so, without any necessary injury, from the principle of population, to the society in which he lives. We have seen that as civilization advances the number of those who spontaneously prefer the advantages of celibacy to those of the married state continually increases; and that the power of propagating their species in many of those who choose the other alternative is at the same time continually diminishing. We have seen, that in proportion as these effects arise, the necessity that the re-productive part of the people should remain at least as fruitful as before increases. The re-productive part of the people are principally the lower orders, who, while the agricultural state of society existed, married early, and reared as large families as they could procreate, because progeny in that state of society is equivalent to wealth; they must, therefore, do the same now in order to make up for the deficiencies left by the non-reproductive part of the people. But the lower orders are precisely the persons who, in a well-regulated government, would most wish to enter early into the contract of marriage, because the blessings arising from it are almost the only innocent enjoyments within their reach. According to our system, therefore, it is not only possible for the lower orders generally to marry early, without any evil consequence from the principle of population; but it is absolutely necessary that they should follow their natural inclinations in this respect, in order to produce that salutary increase of people which is connected with the prosperity and industry of a nation. And to leave without inquietude "every man to his own free choice," though evidently insufficient to guard against evil, according to Mr. Malthus's *principles*, is fully so according to those maintained by us.

To give any positive encouragement to marriage farther than to point it out to the people as their legitimate resource against irregular indulgence, must depend upon the particular situation of polity in which a country may happen to be placed; but

never to discourage it directly or indirectly, appears as consistent with sound policy as it is with the dispensations of Providence, and the commands of religion. Providence does not seem to have intended any restraint upon the higher and middle classes in the exercise of their option as to marriage or celibacy, but to leave to every one his power of selecting his own method of passing through his state of probation in this respect. He doubtless foresaw the election that a large portion of them would make, and has converted it into the means of balancing more equally the temporal advantages and happiness of each rank, and the several temptations to which each should be exposed. The reasoning, therefore, is by no means impaired by the consideration (to the limited extent in which it is true), that if those who now voluntarily abstain from marriage, from the above-mentioned causes, should choose the other alternative, population might have a tendency to advance too rapidly for the diminished power of the earth to supply it with food. Such a supposition is nothing more than an assertion, that if the world and the dispositions of mankind were differently constituted, affairs would not go on so well; a proposition which we should be among the last to deny. But as the truth now stands, we observe, that by a beautiful arrangement, so common in the dispensations of Providence, a provision is made to arise from the silent and unobserved operation of man's propensity to better his condition, which at once ensures the political welfare of the community by keeping up the population, and enabling it to make a further progress, while it facilitates alike to the poor and the rich the practice of virtue, by exposing neither to a degree of temptation from which the other is exempt.

Having shewn, we trust, that on the subjects of charity, and the free option of marriage, the principle of population introduces no new duty, nor any necessary increase of vice and misery, as society advances, and the land arrives nearer to its point of complete cultivation, it now only remains in order to complete our view of the subject, to inquire whether any of those natural arrangements of society, which we have pointed out as contributing to the simultaneous progress of food and population, do, generally speaking, increase the intensity of vice and misery; whether the result of those arrangements be not a general compensation of enjoyments, leaving the increase or decrease of vice and misery entirely dependent upon the general conduct of the people as to morals and religion; thus establishing the glorious conclusion, that an eminently vicious people will at all times destroy itself, and a moderately virtuous one support

itself and flourish. We think it is somewhere observed, that every attempt to explain the cause or ultimate object of moral evil in the world will fail; and if a new revelation were given to turn this dark inquiry into noon day, it would make no difference in the actual state of things. An extension of knowledge would not reverse the fact that human nature has through every age displayed the clearest proofs of innate depravity, nor could it weaken the probability that it will still continue to do so, whatever were the reasons for giving a moral agent a constitution, which it was foreseen would soon be found in this condition. We are thankful, therefore, that it is not necessary for us to entangle ourselves in these depths, but only to shew that *ceteris paribus* the average quantity of evil that affects humanity, is not necessarily increased as society advances.

It is evident from the preceding statement, that the classes whose situation in life is changed by the progress of society, are the non-reproductive classes, i. e. the higher ranks generally, and the lower and middle ranks resident in towns. Among the higher ranks, we think, after what has been stated, that the principle of compensation is so self-evident as not to require any additional illustration in this place; but we are aware that some difficulty may arise from the situation of the people in large towns, which form so considerable and so necessary an ingredient in the composition of an advanced state of society. In order to investigate it fairly, however, with reference to our present inquiry, it is evidently necessary to distinguish between that quantity of vice and misery which actually exists in many towns, where no adequate pains have been taken to improve the morals and the police, and that quantity which has been assumed to be *necessary* to produce the requisite abatement in the progress of population. The last is clearly all that can be justly ascribed to the dispensations of Providence in this argument; and when it has been reduced to its proper quantity, we must proceed (if any be left) to ascertain how far it may be sufficient to counterbalance the superior exertions of virtue, which the state of society producing many towns enables us to make.

We have already had occasion to shew the high proportion which the average number of deaths to the population in towns bears to that in the country, and that a great portion of this extraordinary mortality takes place among infants and young children. But a certain number of premature deaths occurs in the country as well as in towns, and it is probable that the most favourable condition can hardly reduce it among the lower orders to less than one-third of the number born. As far as our personal experience goes, we should say it was rather more.

Now, as to these individuals themselves, who shall say that their condition thus early taken from the world is not to be envied by those left behind? The principal question, therefore, as to the sum of misery produced by this increase of premature deaths, seems to be the degree in which the parents are affected by it; and the immediate point to be determined in the case before us is, how much more heavily this species of grief presses upon parents residing in towns, than upon those in the country. As this is probably the chief drawback which we shall have to make from the numerous advantages of civilization and commerce, we shall endeavour to investigate its extent with some precision. The number of births produced by each marriage must of course be various in different situations; but there is good reason to believe, that the average of four to a marriage in towns, and six in the country, may not be far from the truth. Now, as half the number born in towns die in childhood, each married couple must of course lose two children on an average. In the country, where it has been fully proved that the majority of the members born live to be married, we will calculate the number of those who die in childhood at one third; for the waste of life among those who are just adult is very trifling in the country.

But as each married couple here produces six births upon an average, if one-third die in childhood, the loss they sustain is of two children each, as we have seen to be the case in towns; so that the average pressure of grief upon each married couple is *in quantity* precisely the same, and the difference between them appears to be in the *proportion* which the loss of each bears to their whole stock, which in the townman's case is one half, in the countryman's one third. The loss is of the same nature, as if two men, one possessing an income of 4000*l.* and the other of 6000*l.* a year, should each be deprived of 2000*l.* a year. On the face of this account there certainly is a comparative disadvantage on the side of the townsman; but if we consider that both the contract of marriage and the residence in the town are voluntary on the part of the parents suffering the loss, as well as the numerous advantages and enjoyments by which they are tempted to place themselves in that situation, their whole lot may well bear a comparison with that of the country residents. That such is the opinion of the people themselves is evident from the eagerness with which every situation in great towns is sought after by the residents in the country, and from the infrequency of the opposite course of conduct. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that the general increase of misery is not very great, if any at all. Nay, we think, that we may fairly assume

that there is upon the whole an increase of happiness, particularly when we consider the superior capacity for enjoyment which the townsman's mental improvement gives him, and the superior means of attaining it afforded by the higher remuneration of his labour.

It remains to inquire how far the abatement in the progress of population which is incident to the existence of towns is caused by an increase of the vice of which they are said to be the hot-beds. Upon this subject there are some curious facts to be found among the writers who have turned their attention to it. We have selected the two following; the first of which is highly honourable to the sect upon whose society the experiment was founded. It struck Dr. Perceval*, that the principles and manners of the quakers, though often made the subjects of illiberal censure and ridicule, might afford them advantages over other bodies of men, with respect to the duration of life. The diligence, cleanliness, temperance, and composure of mind by which the members of this society are distinguished, in towns as well as in the country, might reasonably be supposed to contribute to health and longevity; and as there are no persons among them in abject poverty, and few immoderately rich, this more equal distribution must lessen the sources of disease, and furnish every individual under it with the necessary means of relief. These considerations excited his curiosity to know the proportion of deaths among the quakers of Manchester; and he was gratified by Mr. Routh, one of the friends, in the most obliging manner, with the following information. The society consisted of 81 males and 84 females, 54 married persons, nine widowers, seven widows, and 48 persons under 15 years of age.

The births during the last seven years had amounted to 34, and the burials to 47; about 1 therefore in 24 of the quakers in Manchester died annually; whereas the proportion of deaths among the inhabitants of the town at large was as 1 to 28. This difference, which is directly the reverse of what would occur were vice and intemperance the only causes of mortality in towns, Dr. Perceval afterwards reduces to a level, by supposing, that the quakers had few or no accessions to their number by new settlers or converts during the last seven years. This must have considerably increased their proportional mortality; because, as new settlers generally arrive in towns in an adult state, and the chief mortality takes place in childhood, they must of course raise the proportion of inhabitants to the deaths, and also of births and weddings to the burials, higher than they

* See Perceval's Essay on Population, p. 41. Ed. 1776.

would otherwise be, if this cause did not exist. He conceives, therefore, that the general proportion of deaths to the population in Manchester, would be at least as high as among the quakers, perhaps something higher; but it cannot be denied, that the proportional mortality among them is *naturally* very near as high as among the other residents of the town, notwithstanding the difference in the temperance, regularity, and cleanliness of the parties. That "the want of vivacity in the people of this sect," and "the sedentary lives of their females," tend materially to shorten the period of their existence, will not probably be admitted by any philosopher or physician. What then remains but that we come to the conclusion, that the causes which shorten the period of human life in towns, however they may be sometimes aggravated by vice, are fully sufficient, without any such aggravation, to produce all the effect contended for in this article, and to render the inhabitants of towns, supposing they conducted themselves as temperately and as virtuously as the quakers, a non-reproductive part of the population of the state. Dr. Perceval * has afforded another fact to prove, that the quantity of vice usually existing in towns does not materially alter the otherwise natural rate of the progress of population. By a careful comparison of the difference in the proportion of deaths between the town of Manchester and the villages immediately surrounding, he found that the yearly mortality in the former bore a proportion to the whole population, very nearly, if not quite, double to that in the latter;—yet "both live in the same climate, carry on the same manufactures, are chiefly supplied from the same market," and their habits of life, their morals, and their manners, cannot therefore be very different: supposing the fact as established by the quakers to be out of the question, there can probably be no difference of vice in these two situations sufficient to account for their different rates of mortality; and the two facts taken together render it absolutely certain that such is not the cause. We must evidently, therefore, have recourse to the other circumstances in which towns differ from the country; and these are chiefly, confinement from such exercises as render the body vigorous and robust; an atmosphere unfavourable to the duration of life; and the weaker spark which originally animates the frame of the townsman, and which refuses to carry his existence to the same extended period as the more vivid fire which glows in the frame of the countryman.

Some of these circumstances are caused, and all of them are

* See Perceval's *Essays on Population*, p. 56.

compensated, by the superior degree of mental exertion necessary to the townsman, that cannot fail to impart to him a portion of refined enjoyment to which the peasant must be a total stranger. Nor has he ever felt the want of the more efficient properties of the body. Although he is born an animal less vigorous than the peasant, his native air affords him a state of personal feeling as comfortable, fits him as much for the less hardy and laborious occupations in which he is employed, renders him as free from pain and as capable of the quiet enjoyment suited to his station, as the air of the country affords to the rough peasant flushed with the boisterous amusement of athletic exercises.

We are aware that it has been the custom of late among a certain set of our fraternity, who are too little scrupulous concerning the effects of their sophistry upon the public good, to decry the effects of civilization, and to enlarge upon the degradation induced on the human mind by commerce and extended manufactures. They assume, that the moral degradation of the inhabitants is commensurate with the degree in which the division of labour exists in a country; and suppose, that when the public prosperity has been raised to a great height by the minute subdivision of labour, the *ideas* of the people shall in each class be limited to the performance of one single manipulation. The only mistake in this proposition seems to be, that the word *ideas* has been used instead of *hands*; unless, indeed, it is intended to assert, that men receive their ideas through their finger's ends, or the palms of their hands! A man's *hands* may be limited to one single manipulation; and in proportion to the adroitness with which he performs it, his ideas may wander at large. A weaver, for example, long before his apprenticeship is expired, may throw the shuttle to and fro by mere habit, with little mental exertion, or even attention; and he is in constant intercourse with a large society of men, whose minds require only the proper pains, which it is the duty of every government to take in providing for their cultivation, to turn the activity, naturally resulting from the collision of ideas, to the moral advantage of the individual and of the community. We do not think, therefore, that the collection of people into towns necessarily induces any moral degradation among them; on the contrary, we believe that letters and arts introduce into the morals greater advantages, if properly seized, than wealth does disadvantages, notwithstanding the absurd paradoxes of Rousseau and his imitators upon this subject; and we heartily subscribe to the opinion of the ancient philosopher, "*Quid enumerem artium multitudinem sine quibus vita omnino nulla esse potuisset. Quis enim ægris*

subvenisset? Quæ esset oblectatio valentium? Qui victus aut cultus, nisi tam multæ nobis artes ministrarentur, quibus rebus exulta hominum vita, tantum destitit à cultu et victu bestiarum." (Cicero de Officijs, lib. 2.) Although, therefore, the townsman's life may be somewhat shorter in duration than that of the countryman, it may certainly be said to be longer in giving more density of enjoyment to the individual; and as to the effect on the community, the spread of knowledge and talents will always secure freedom at least in the practice, if not in the form of governments; and the latter will always by degrees adapt itself to the former. Unless foreign influence should check the course of industry and improvement in Russia, its government will not be despotic a century hence.

In quitting this part of the subject we must remark, that if towns have been called the hot-beds of vice, they have deserved that appellation more from indolent despair than from necessity. The towns have hitherto by no means had fair play. Notwithstanding the extreme difference between the dispositions, manners, opportunities, and temptations of the inhabitants of towns and the country, not only have the same laws been thought adequate to the government of both, but too often those laws have been even relaxed in towns. Where regulation has been most wanted, it has been most neglected; and what is worse, religious instruction, the only sure foundation of all morality, has usually been more scantily provided in the same proportion. It is pleasing, nevertheless, to reflect, that if towns have been actually the hot-beds of vice, they have been no less the seats of exalted virtues. The most enlightened exertions for bettering the condition of mankind have been struck out by the intellectual collision of many enlarged minds collected into the focus of a great metropolis. And although we cannot quite vindicate from partiality the predilection for a city life, entertained by our great philosopher and moralist Dr. Johnson, we cannot either avoid thinking, that he who would (if possible) reduce cities and towns to annihilation, rather than use due exertions for their improvement, and to render them more conducive to the views of Providence in making them a necessary condition of one state of our political existence, would, by the same rule, hang a boy for his first fault, rather than endeavour to root out the innate seeds of evil implanted in his mind.

One word more and we have done. It may perhaps be said, that the number of the childless and unmarried among the higher orders is a clear addition to the mass of public misery as society advances. To this we shall briefly reply, that those qualities of the mind and body, which are least favourable to the production

and care of large families, are often the most so to other pursuits not less useful or advantageous, or less capable of conferring happiness. Strange as it may appear, unless we revert to this solution of the fact, the greatest heroes and most celebrated men have in very many instances been childless, if not unmarried. But have they been therefore the more miserable? By no means. That affection which would perhaps have been engrossed by their families has all been lavished on their country and on mankind. And however great may be the satisfaction arising from domestic endearments, the high-wrought pleasure flowing from a consciousness of having conferred a benefit on one's country and the world, of deserving public applause and gratitude, will scarcely yield to it in intensity of delight.

If it be said that this applies exclusively to men, we would cite the names of Hannah More, Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Hamilton, Maria Edgeworth, and many others, to shew that the other sex have their full share in the observation; and some of them so much the more emphatically, as temporal affairs must yield in importance to those which are eternal.

We ought perhaps to apologise for the length of this article, but we are convinced, that there is no subject which more remarkably involves the happiness of the creature, and the glory of the Creator. And we shall indeed rejoice if the candid and enlightened portion of the community should give us any encouragement to think,

“ That to the height of this great argument
We may assert eternal Providence,
 And vindicate the ways of God to man.”

APPENDIX.

I.

TO RECOMMEND

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

To the protection of such of our patriotic readers as have the means of promoting its success, is, we trust, superfluous. But many, perhaps, may not have maturely reflected upon the superior claim established in its favour over all *individual charities*. It may not, perhaps, have occurred to them, that whereas, ordinary charity benefits only the generation that now is, this is calculated to extend its blessings to our remotest posterity;—that whereas, common charity affects only the body, this goes directly to the souls of its objects;—that whereas, common charity can only pretend to relieve the pressure of misery actually endured, this has a direct and obvious tendency to prevent its occurrence;—and if, after these higher motives, we may venture to suggest one of less importance,—we would observe, that this is the most *æconomical charity* ever proposed; for, in proportion as its objects are attained in the diffusion of instruction and intelligence among the lower ranks, will the sums now rendered necessary for their relief from evils arising from ignorance and apathy, be curtailed.

The patronage under which it is presented to the public, is as unexceptionable as the most suspicious anxiety can require; and the effects of such patronage have been already considerable. Within a few days after the establishment of the Society, H. R. H. the Commander in Chief published an order^{*} for establishing, in every regiment of the army, a school for instructing the children of the soldiers “on the plan recommended by the Rev. Dr. Bell^{*}, and adopted with great success at the Royal Military

* We cannot suffer the name of this distinguished individual to pass without offering him our sincere congratulations upon the triumphs lately obtained by the cause of truth and justice over misrepresentation and prejudice. The question between him and Mr. Lancaster, and their respective systems, is now, we think, at rest. To say nothing of the unworthy efforts in our first number, the subsequent publications of Mr. Herbert Marsh, Archdeacon Bowyer, and the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1811, appear to us as unanswerable as they are unanswered. We wish to the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, and to Mr. Joseph Lancaster, all the consolation to be derived from the reflection which, (if we rightly recollect the correspondence in the *Morning Post*) was made by the latter gentleman with admirable taste and modesty, in reference to his own failings, “that even the sun hath spots.”

APPENDIX.

Asylum." "The object of these institutions is to implant on the children's minds early habits of (religion) morality, obedience, and industry."

II.

ADVERTING to the statement with respect to the Rev. Mr. Usko, in (p. 233, et seq.) of Mr. Hodgson's *Life of Bp. Porteus*, we think it fair to lay the following facts before the public:—Mr. Usko's first acquaintance with his lordship was in the year 1798, upon his appointment to a chaplaincy by the Levant Company; on which occasion the bishop gave him very honourable testimonials. For eight or nine years he kept up his connection with the bishop by occasional correspondence, and personally renewed it on his return to England in 1807, by delivering to his lordship a plan for instructing young gentlemen in Arabic and Turkish, to be afterwards sent to the Levant as *giovani di lingua*. We are also in possession of a certificate from the principal inhabitants of Orsett, stating, that they perfectly understand Mr. Usko's pronunciation, and are satisfied with him as their rector. We shall only add, that Mr. Usko is occasionally afflicted with severe inflammation of the eyes, which prevents a continued attention to literary pursuits; that he performs, when able, all the duties of his parish; and that no precise time was fixed by his excellent patron within which he is bound to publish his intended work.

LIST OF NEW WORKS

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IN THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, AND
NOVEMBER, 1811.

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